# INDIANS OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY, INDIANA

Bridgie Brill Brelsford

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# INDIANS OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY, INDIANA

by
Bridgie Brill Brelsford

illustrated by
Mary Early Johnson

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Montgomery County Historical Society

Crawfordsville, Indiana

1985

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## Preface

This book has been written in response to the many questions asked at the Crawfordsville District Public Library about the Indians who once inhabited the land now called Montgomery County, Indiana. People of all ages arrive, artifacts or class assignments in hand. They want to identify the artifacts or to find out which tribes lived here, where they lived, how they dressed, etc.

Finding answers to these questions has been a problem: the information is scattered throughout many sources, most of which are unindexed, and once found, the facts are not always consistent. It seemed like a good idea for someone to collect the information, check it for accuracy, and put it all in one book. You hold the result of this effort in your hands.

In looking for information on the Indians of the area I consulted several different types of sources:

1) local folklore, including reminiscences of the early settlers;

2) the writings of local scientists and historians;

3) the writings of recognized scholars in Indian studies;

4) official documents pertaining to United States governmental relationships with the Indians; and

5) general writings about the Indians of Eastern United States.

The book is divided into three sections. They are interrelated and all are needed for an understanding of the Indians of this area, but each is targeted toward a particular audience.

Section I, "What we learn about the Indians from the reminiscences of early settlers, family folklore, the writings of local historians, and the physical items which the Indians left behind: artifacts, trails, and burials," is written primarily for local history buffs.

Section II, "Information about the Indians of Indiana--with particular relevance to the Indians of Montgomery County--taken from general studies on the Indians of North America," is intended as background information for school children and adults alike.

Section III, "The Quest for the Historical Peter," is for the student of history. It is devoted to a controversy which has long concerned some of our county historians: what was the tribal affiliation of Peter Cornstalk?--the only notable and historically identifiable Indian who has been associated with Montgomery County.

Indians of Montgomery County, Indiana is not intended as a one stop answering place for all questions concerning the Indians of Indiana, or even of the ones who lived in our area. A few articles on topics of special interest have been included in Section II but many topics--those on which whole books have been written--have not been covered, e.g., detailed identification of Indian artifacts, or Tecumseh, or the Battle of Tippecanoe. For information on these and other topics readers are encouraged to consult their local public libraries.

In the text I have taken spellings of Indian names and other words from The Random House Dictionary of the English Language (New York, 1968). In the quotations I have retained the spellings from the original documents. This may cause some confusion but I have chosen to do this in order to retain the flavor of the original documents and the periods in which they were written.

It is hoped that Indians of Montgomery County, Indiana, will serve as a responsible contribution to the history of our county; that it will answer the questions of beginning students; that it will serve as a starting place for more extensive scholarship.

Bridgie Brill Brelsford

Lafayette/Crawfordsville
June, 1985

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I am further indebted to those individuals who willingly give of their time and knowledge to help create this book. Phyllis Boone, Joyce Jones, Dr. Robert O. Petty, and Gerald Walters wrote specific items for it. The original illustrations were provided by Mary Early Johnson. She, and Joe Boswell, and J. Rick Jones provided the photographs.

Several individuals contributed their expertise to help me sort out facts from legends. Foremost among these were Dr. Jack Waddell from the Department of Anthropology at Purdue University, Dr. James Kellar, Director of the Glenn A. Black Laboratory of Archaeology at Indiana University, and Dr. Robert Pace from the Department of Anthropology at Indiana State University. They gave invaluable advice on the prehistory of our area but I, solely, am responsible for the final outcome.

For her tenacious researching of Peter Cornstalk and the Miami/Shawnee problem I will forever be in debt to Dr. Emmy Peebles. She willingly jumped in and rescued me when I realized what a tremendously time comsuming project this type of research was going to be. We both thank Debbie Polley, from Wabash College, and Linda Petrie, from the Wabash Valley ALSA for obtaining documents through the Interlibrary Loan System.

My thanks go to all the librarians who willingly did research for me when I was unable to visit their libraries. These include The Indiana State Library, the public libraries along the Wea Trail throughout west central Indiana, The

Oklahoma Department of Libraries, The Ohio Historical Society, The Flesh Public Library in Piqua, Ohio, The Green County District Library in Xenia, Ohio, and The United States National Archives and Records Service. In a class with librarians for being helpful are County Surveyors. My special thanks to Russell Nelson, Montgomery Co., D. Kent Overholser, Boone Co., and the staff at the Surveyor's Office in Tippecanoe County.

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I wish to express my deepest gratitude to the Lilly Endowment, Inc. for its generous grant for the publication of this book and its free distribution to Indian libraries and historical societies. We hope it will encourage other counties to write similar histories. I also want to thank Donald E. Thompson from the Montgomery County Historical Society for handling the financial aspects of the book.

A special note of appreciation must go to my fellow workers at the Crawfordsville District Public Library for filling in for me during the hours I escaped to work on this book. And final remarks of thanks and appreciation go to my mother, Fern Brill, who empathized with all the thrills and frustrations of my research (while she was writing the history of St. John's Episcopal Church and searching for the maker of its' stained glass window); to my husband, Bob; and Emmy's husband and sons, Hall, David, John, and Mark, all of whom tolerated with good grace the intrusion of Peter Cornstalk into their lives. We know they will agree when I dedicate this book to Peter Cornstalk--may he rest in peace.

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## SECTION I

What we can learn about the Indians from the reminiscences of early settlers, family folklore, the writings of local historians, and the physical items which the Indians left behind: artifacts, traces and trails, and Indian burials.

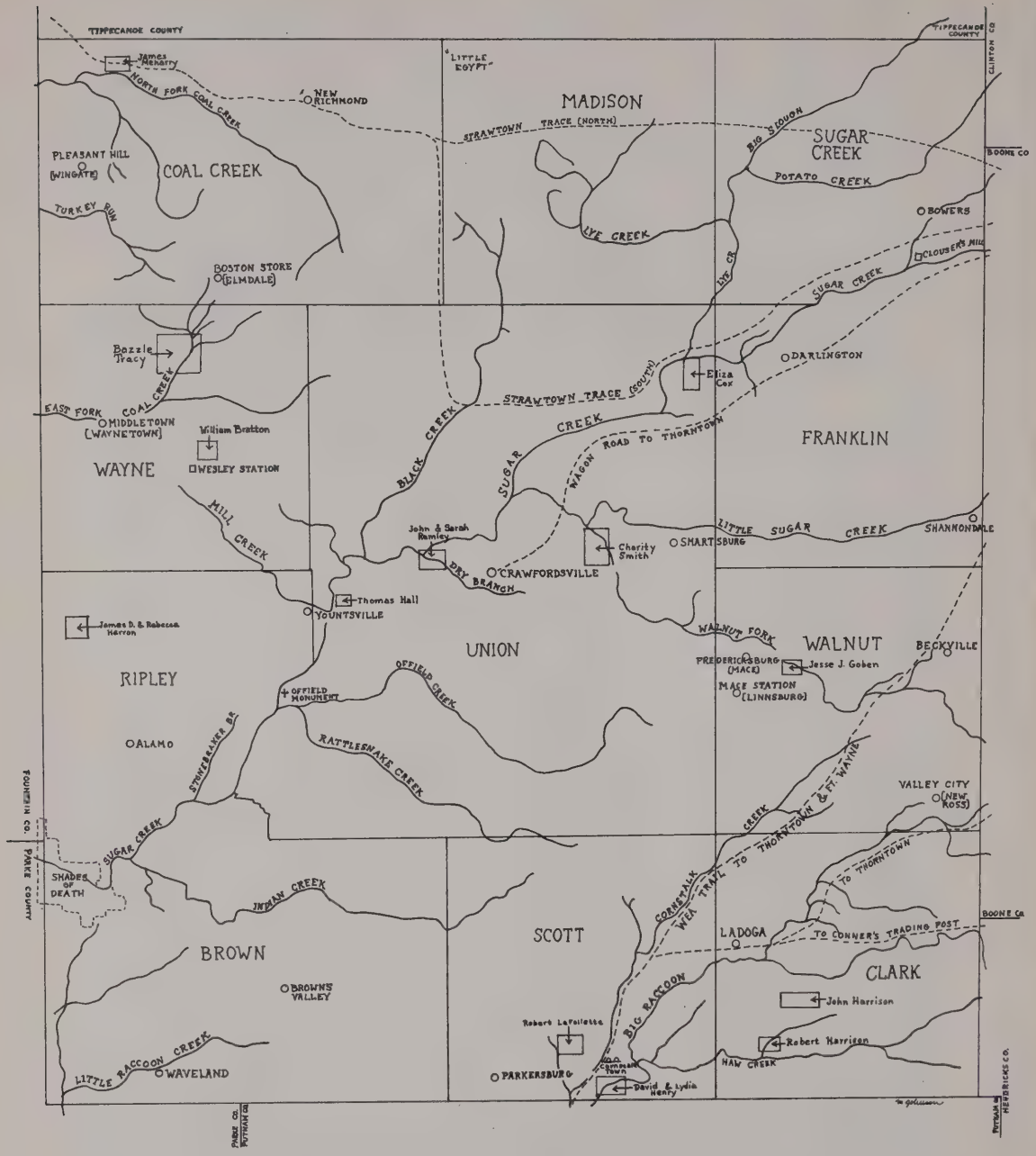



Fig. 1: Montgomery County, 1821-1840: early settlements and homesites of pioneers who had contact with the Indians. (Drawing by Mary Early Johnson)

## Chapter 1: Stories about the Indians

Montgomery County's first white settlers of record were William and Jennie, or Jane, (Laughlin) Offield. In 1821 they came from Kentucky and settled in what is now Ripley Township. As far as we know, Offield left no written accounts of his experiences with the Indians but it is asserted in the Beckwith history that relationships with the Indians were friendly. An Indian squaw even served as midwife for the birth of Mrs. Offield's second child, presumably the first white child born in the county.[1]

Only a few documents which were written by the local settlers during the time of the county's early history are still in existence. Those which have been consulted, the Ristine family papers and the Harshbarger/Anderson letters, have not proved helpful for this study. Neither contains any reference to Indians. These early settlers were too busy carving a living out of the land to write back about their Indian neighbors; religion, life, death, the price of corn, and the bountifulness of the land were their concerns.[2] Therefore, in the absence of first-hand, contemporary documents, we must look elsewhere for information. Fortunately three other sources are available: the memoirs of the settlers as they were recorded in later years, the writings of local historians, and family lore as recorded by later generations.

In order to help the reader place the following stories in historical perspective most of the geographical sites mentioned in them have been located on the map in Fig. 1. Also, the sources of the stories and the dates, both when they allegedly occurred and when they were written down, have been included. For the most part I leave it to the reader to judge whether or not the events are likely to have taken place as recorded.

### Reminiscences of the Early Settlers

Sandford Cox was perhaps the first settler from this area to record his experiences for publication. In 1860 he published Recollections of the Early Settlement of the Wabash Valley. In it he recalled childhood memories of his family's journey to Montgomery County. It is a charming story, written with the fervor of a true story teller. Only a small portion of it is included here.

The family started their journey to Crawfordsville from the Falls of the Ohio on October 24, 1824.

A LOST CHILD

> The weather became clear during the night, and on the morning of [October] the 27th a white frost lay on the logs and newly fallen leaves. This morning we aimed to make an early start, but another unfortunate and unlooked for event threw our whole company into the deepest consternation. Jesse . . . followed Mr. Ogle and brother John into the woods, when they went to bring in the oxen and other cattle. Upon their discovering him following them, they told him to go back to camp, for which he immediately started, but took a wrong direction. He was not missed until we were ready to start. Imagine the panic produced when it was known he was lost! Another energetic search was immediately instituted for the lost child. The woods for miles around echoed with "Jesse! Jesse!" from more than half a dozen voices. He heard us, but supposed we were Indians, and hid in the underbrush until we got close to him, when he emerged, mounted on a log, and said: "It is quite a frosty morning"--declared he had not been lost; that he saw the smoke of the camp all the time, and heard us calling, but took us to be Indians, and was determined to make no noise nor let himself be seen until he was certain we were not Pottawatomies.[3]

Obviously the Coxes believed that Indians might be in the area, and the children were greatly frightened by the thought of any possible meeting with them. Tales of kidnappings and massacres must have been vivid in the minds of the settlers.

Another of the early settlers was Matthias Elmore (who later became the father of "The Bard of Alamo," James P. Elmore). Matthias was sixteen when his father brought his family to settle in Ripley Township--just across the creek from William Offield's place. In 1900, on his 91st birthday, he was interviewed by the Crawfordsville Weekly Journal, in which he said,

> There were Indians here too. . . . [They] used to come in big crowds from up about Thorntown down to where Jim Hankins lives now to make sugar in the spring.[4]

The Rev. Jesse Goben was among the early preachers to arrive in Montgomery County. He wrote his memoirs in the 1880's. They contain an interesting picture of early pioneer life but, unfortunately for us, he had almost no contact with the Indians. This was his only Indian story:

A STOLEN HORSE

> At this period the year 1829 had rolled around, and I had made up my mind to leave the land of my childhood and go to the wilderness of Indiana. I started on the first of October and landed in Montgomery County, entered my land on Walnut Creek, seven miles east of Crawfordsville. . . . In the above time I lost one of my horses. I kept the leader hobbled to let them feed near where I was working, when all at once one of them was missing, and in all my searching I could not find it. As the red men had not yet given up their hunting-ground, I supposed they had stolen it.[5]

Of all the accounts handed down by the early settlers only one alludes to any physical harm committed by an Indian to the settlers of this county. It was told in the memoirs of Dr. William A. Long, published in the Journal in 1904.

JOHN GREEN--A BAD INDIAN

> It is with much diffidence that I undertake the task of writing a sketch for publication of pioneer life in Montgomery County, Indiana. So far as I know I am the only person now living that was in said county so early as May 12, 1822. . . .
>
> My father, James Long, . . . at the age of thirty years with a family of my mother and six children, on the 13th day of February, 1822, pulled out [from Kentucky] for the tall timbered land of western Indiana, taking the circuitous route of Vincennes and Terre Haute, reaching the place above named on the day named above, where though weak from a spell of fever and salivation, he soon constructed a pole hut to shelter the family. . . .
>
> I was six months old when that brave little woman (my mother) stepped upon the virgin soil of Montgomery County, . . . and sat her babe down on a deer skin till she could prepare dinner for the hungry and weary family. That spot of land was a glade of one acre touching the line between Montgomery County and Parke County on the

side of the former. It had been occupied by the red man as a truck patch and perhaps a summer resort. On this plat we found many relics of their implements, arrow heads, stone knives and a stone ax that represented the stone age perhaps of some prehistoric people. . . . It would be thrilling to hear its ancient owner tell of his exploits with that ancient implement. . . .

The summer of 1823 our hut was the stopping place of many hungry land hunters who always found the latch string on the outside and the occupants ready to administer to their needs free of charge, but none were too blind to see that we also were needy and they gave accordingly.

Now we began to have closer neighbors. Hitherto there were only four families, the nearest four miles away, the others three, four and five miles further off. On one occasion six or eight Indians called and sat down on the ground for the hut had no floor. One of the female persuasion discovered some scraps of leather under the bed. She reached under and slyly tucked a piece under her blanket. The keen eye of my mother saw the theft and took it from her and asked her buck if he allowed his squaw to steal. He said no, and hissed and stamped his feet. At that time I was about two years old.

Soon after that my father went back to Kentucky on business taking my sister to go to school. There was an old Indian, a savage wretch, who had called frequently, but did no harm. He was quite intimate with our neighbor, Buchanan, four miles down the creek. He popped up at the door one day. "How do," said he, "Where Long?" My Mother told him he [Father] was out about the place. "Ha, ha," said he, "Long gone to Kentuck." "Who told you?" asked she. "Buchanan." Then the lightning flew from her eyes like daggers and she reached the rifle that was kept loaded and told him to leave quick or she would blow his liver out. By the time she got to the door old John Green (that was his name) was leaping through the woods down towards Buchanan's. He was feared by women for he had killed several of the settlers in the absence of the men.[6]

If this story is true then John Green seems to have been an exception rather than the rule. We do not doubt that he frightened the settlers, but if he had in fact killed several

of them "in the absence of the men" why was he allowed to run free? Why didn't the men give him swift justice when they returned? Why weren't these killings reported in other accounts and why did the author himself say that Green "did no harm"?

John W. Harrison was twelve years old when his family settled two miles west of Ladoga, in 1830. In 1909 the Ladoga Leader published his memories. On one occasion, while taking grain to the mill, he had the following experience.

A KIND DEED

I was sent to Swank's mill seven miles down Raccoon from our house. I had to wait so long that it was dark when I started back. I went two miles and came onto 14 big Indians camped by the creek. One spoke to me in good English and said I was a mighty little boy to be out in the night and asked me to stay all night with them, but I would not. He said my sack of meal was not balanced and he would fix it if I would get off. When I did so he carefully adjusted the sack and going before, then behind, the horse and looking, said, too much meal one side for other side. Having properly shifted the meal he placed me on and started the horse. I expected a bullet or an arrow in my back. Going two miles farther I came to old David Henry's cabin where a big dog ran out and tried to pull me from my horse, but by my turning my horse about I got away from him. I soon came to where the Cornstalk Baptist church is now and where both Whites and Indians had been buried and my belief in ghosts made me look for them and feel very squeamish. A great owl just then hooted above me and my heart went into my mouth. As I hastened on the wolves got after me and I could hear their teeth snap near my horse's heels. This made the horse lunge and throw the sack of meal to the ground [and] run for home. I soon met brother Harvey with a torch coming to hunt me. I was a little boy but I did not cry any, I was too game for that, but I felt better when Harvey came. We went back and got the sack.[7]

Another of John's experiences involved some early pioneer medicine and a bit of grave robbing.

A STRANGE REMEDY FOR FITS

When I came to Indiana, doctors were scarce. Medical

science was very crude and some queer methods were used in practice.

On one occasion my father sent me on an errand to Abraham Byrd's. While there, a man came along and made a strange request. He said that he had heard that the scrapings of a human skull would cure fits and wished to secure some. Mr. Byrd told him he would go and help him dig up an Indian who was buried near there. Like a boy, I followed them to see the work done. Having opened the grave they came to a slab placed over the corpse. Mr. Byrd got down in the grave and thrust his hand under the slab to lift it up. I had noticed something had dug a small hole from the surface of the ground down to this slab. It was a hot day and Mr. Byrd had unbuttoned his shirt at the sleeves and bosom to relieve the heat. I suppose desecrating graves and digging up dead people would make anyone squeamish and on the verge of fright. I suppose this was Byrd's feeling for he had scarcely put his hand under the slab until he suddenly pulled it out and giving a scream of terror he came flying out of the grave with horror written on his countenance. He began clutching at his clothes and calling on the name of God at every jump. He frantically danced about as if wrestling with the ghost of the dead. Presently a ground squirrel jumped out of the bosom of his shirt and was soon lost in the bushes near by. This explained the cause of his singular sensation and greatly relieved him.[8]

Stories Recorded in Local Histories

The reader should not assume that just because the following stories come from "histories" they are based on historically verifiable facts. The earliest local history, Beckwith's History of Montgomery County, Indiana, was not written until 1881, at least forty years after the Indians had ceased coming to this county. The stories recorded in it, as with the other local histories, are based on tales as they were remembered by the settlers and their descendents.

Information on the Indians is scattered throughout the Beckwith history. The more factual data will be found below in the next chapter. Some of the stories which are included here have been reprinted in other sources, but for the benefit of those who have not read them they are entered here.

In the section on Coal Creek Township we find two

stories. One about a settler who really did not like the Indians and another about an unexpected meeting on the banks of Coal Creek.

A FRIGHTENED SQUATTER

The first cabin erected in the territory was built by Bostick, a squatter, on the land owned by Alexander Meharry and occupied for a while by Ellis Insley, whose father entered it. Bostick deserted the cabin from fear of the Indians.

NOAH INSLEY

On September 22, 1826, Noah Insley landed in Fountain county, Indiana. He was a cabinet-maker by trade, and spent his first year at Newtown and Attica, manufacturing furniture directly from the forest. He probably was the first man who ever cut a stick of timber from Coal Creek Township for furniture purposes. He occasionally took rambles through the western part of the township, and remembers the first cabin [Bostick's] and civilized family he saw in the township. . . . The first permanent resident was Charles Reid, whom Mr. Insley discovered not far from the banks of Coal Creek. He stood amazed at first, and carefully examined to distinguish whether Indian or white man. . . . In 1827 immigration found its way more rapidly, leaving Reid no longer monarch of all.[9]

The next story comes from Madison Township.

CORN FROM THE WEA

Till 1834 it was a difficult thing to prevent the game from consuming all the grain raised in the county before it was fit to harvest. Often they [the settlers] were obliged to go to the Weas [a tribe of Indians] for corn, and then pay 75 cents per bushel for an inferior quality. So frequently did this occur, that the section about the Wea received from them [the settlers] the appellation, "Egypt," which it has since retained.[10]

And the next two, from Sugar Creek Township.

SQUAW TRADING

A story is told of two chief's [sic] squaws. One had a young squaw and no children, the other a squaw by whom he

had two children, well grown up lads. The first swapped his squaw and lads, giving as boot [money] $1,000, for the other's young squaw. The one who received the boot was asked if he did not think he was cheated. He replied, "Oh no, no! When old squaw die, take $1,000 and buy two, three young squaws, and have two papoose besides."[11]

A MEDICINE-MAN

North of what is now Potato Creek, on a rising knoll, the Indians had a camp, in which resided the medicine-man. This medicine-man had prepared a basin in the ground, lining it with stones, for the treatment of those who were sick with fever. The treatment was simple and good. He would first heat this basin by means of fire; when sufficiently hot the fire and ashes were removed, a tent erected over the basin; the patient went into the tent and was subjected to the steaming process by water being poured into the basin on the heated stones.[12]

The last is from Clark Township.

THE CUCUMBERS AND ONIONS STORY

John N. Hays remembers quite distinctly a visit made by a surly Indian of the Miami tribe to his father's house, when the family sat down to dinner with their savage guest. A favorite dish with young John was a part of the menu consisting of sliced cucumbers and onions dressed in vinegar. The presence of the noble red man had completely paralyzed the tongue of the boy until he saw his beloved dish about to be devoured by the Miami, when his stomach-courage compelled him to enter a loud protest, against which not even the stoicism of the Indian was able to stand.[13]

We are indebted to many local historians who have preserved the following stories in community histories, newspapers, and Montgomery Magazine.

A SWEAT HOUSE

There was an old Indian sweat house on [William] Miller's land which stood near a small creek. It was built of large stones and covered with a bark roof. The Indians who were ill would rush into the sweat house, remain there for a while then leap into the creek, thus completing their cure for all diseases.[14]

Elijah Cox and his bride, Nancy (Brown), settled in Franklin Township in 1831.

A FRIGHTENED BRIDE

In the fall Elijah had to make a trip to Lafayette for salt and ammunition, two of the necessities of life that the pioneer couple could not provide for themselves, thus leaving young Nancy alone. Many years later she told her granddaughter about her visitors that autumn. "About noon a party of Indian braves rode into our enclosure. I was so frightened I thought my heart would stop beating, but when they dismounted and stacked their long rifles around a big oak tree, I knew they meant no harm. They asked for food, so I gave them corn meal, biscuits left from breakfast, corn on the cob for their ponies, a piece of sidemeat and potatoes fresh dug with the dirt still on them. All of these things they placed in a sack together, grunted their thanks, mounted and rode away."[15]

According to the following story at least one settler learned to speak some of the Miami Indian language and used his knowledge to good purpose.

THE SUGAR CREEK MILL

John Clouser, a Revolutionary War vet from Pennsylvania who'd moved on to Ohio, came on west with some of his folks in 1828 and built Sugar Creek Township's first mill just this side of the Boone County line. He needed to dam the stream, of course, and fortunately understood the Miami language enough that he could communicate. So, with the help of the friendly Indians here rose a log-and-brush job that got Clouser started in business.[16]

Undoubtedly the most colorful of the Indian stories concerns Sammy Vancleave (or Van Cleave) and the cave of silver. Here are two versions of the story. The first, from the Balhinch Bugle, was reprinted in the Crawfordsville Weekly Review on August 30, 1890.

THE CAVE OF SILVER #1

Years ago, when this state was a howling, pathless wilderness, a roving band of Indians were returning from Kentucky, where they had been on a plundering expedition, to their village near this town [Balhinch]. They brought with them a prisoner, a white man, named Vancleave. When

near the mouth of Offield Creek, so the story goes, they stopped and blindfolded their captive, and leading him several hundred yards, they suddenly entered a cave with him, and then took the bandage from his eyes. He was surprised to see the amount of silver the cave contained. It projected in massive chunks from every part of the walls. The Indians chopped off many pieces with their tomahawks, and after pow-wowing a little, again blindfolded Vancleave and left the cave. Vancleave was kept a prisoner by them for many months, but finally made his escape and reached his home in safety. When the country became more settled he returned and searched for the cave, but never succeeded in finding it. This story is vouched for by the old settlers of this place. Since then the silver cave has frequently been sought for in vain. Bill Gulliver, who has been prospecting on Offield and Sugar Creeks for the past two weeks, was scaling a steep bank, not many miles from the mouth of Offield, last Sunday, when he lost his balance and rolled down the hill. When near the bottom, he clutched wildly a large flat rock, which gave way, revealing the mouth of a large cavern. Preparing a torch and lighting it, he ventured in. When Ali Baba entered the cave of the forty thieves he could not have been more amazed than was our Bill. The walls were solid silver, and all over the floor lay heaps upon heaps of the glittering ore. Gulliver has concealed the entrance of the cave. We have seen specimens of the silver which is unalloyed.[17]

The second telling of the story comes to us from New Market's A Century of Progress, published in 1972.

THE CAVE OF SILVER #2

An interesting and true story of the New Market area occurred before Indiana became a state in 1816. Some fathers and their sons came from Kentucky to this region to explore the land for homesteading. They were surrounded by Indians and all but one young boy, Sammy Van Cleave, were killed. The lad was admired because he, heeding his father's teachings, showed no fear, and the Indians spared his life.

For three years, he lived with the Indians and was trusted and accepted as one of them. Sammy was a good hunter and the squaws were delighted with the game he brought them.

One night the Indians blindfolded him and took him around in circles for what seemed several miles. They led him into a cave, lighted torches, and removed his blindfold. They laughed at his amazement when he gazed at the untold treasures in chests--jewels and coins of silver. They chipped silver from the cave with their tomahawks.

After spending some time in the cave, the Indians again blindfolded Sammy and as they returned to camp, circled around and around to confuse him.

When he felt they completely trusted him, Sammy planned his escape. On lone hunting trips he hid food the squaws had given him. Sometimes he would be gone three or four days. The time finally came when he felt that he could make his get-away. He rose early and walked fast, eating what the forest provided and what he had stored, for he dared not make a fire. He waded the streams and swung on vines when possible.

One day Sammy heard the Indians calling him. Luckily, within a short time he found a large hollow log, covered his tracks as well as he could, crawled inside the log, and pulled in brush and leaves to hide himself.

Closer and closer the Indians came, and finally they sat on the log in which he was hiding. They talked at great length and at last decided that Sammy had been killed by an animal, so they departed.

Fearing they were tricking him, the boy stayed in the log for what seemed to him several hours. Crawling cautiously from the log, he thankfully realized that the Indians believed him dead.

Great was the rejoicing when he finally reached his home in Kentucky. He related the sad news of the killings, but the families found some comfort as he told them of the kindness shown him.

Several years later, he and others made the trip to Indiana and he entered 40 acres of land along Indian Creek, settling near the New Market area where he built a saw mill and grist mill. Sammy thought the cave was near but he was never able to locate it. In later years many nearby caves were explored by teenage boys but so far the secret cave has never been found.[18]

Here is another unique story. It is the only Montgomery County story from the period after white settlement which mentions whites being held captive by the Indians. (Sammy Vancleave's captivity was before white settlement.)

WHITE CAPTIVES

> [Martha Beck] lived on the Indian trail that led from Thorntown to Cornstalk Creek. The Indians frequently came to her home to trade beads, silver plates, blankets, deer skins, etc. for corn meal, soap, and eatables. These [Indian] women had in their possession two women whom they had doubtless stolen. They [the whites] gave their names as Nancy and Sallie Battiste.[19]

We are indebted to the writings of William L. Anderson for the following account.

"HEEP GOOD TIMES"

> Indians often turned aside from the . . . trails to have "heep good times" with the settlers. They loved to display their skill with the bow and arrow and at the same time win a little money. They would place a small coin against a tree, stump, or other object, then stepping off fifteen paces bet with the white man that they could hit it so often in a given number of shots. An old man told me he once saw a little Indian boy shoot at such a coin that number of steps away and hit it five or six times in succession. They preferred the bow and arrow in killing squirrels, birds and small game, but guns in hunting deer.[20]

Further comments on the bow and arrow skills of the Indians will be found in excerpts from the writings of Maurice Thompson which have been included in Chapter 5.

An item from the Waynetown area involves a souvenir from a famous Indian.

THE BEADED ROSETTE

> Mrs. Albert Chesterson has an outstanding heirloom, the beaded rosette from the shot pouch of the Indian chief, Tecumseh. . . . [It] is an inheritance from William Bratton. He was present when Tecumseh was slain; a comrade rushed to the fallen chief and took his shot pouch and powder horn, selling them to Mr. Bratton for $1.[21]

William Bratton was in his own right an historically important individual because he had been a member of the 1803-1806 Lewis and Clark expedition.[22]

## Stories Told by the Descendants of the Early Settlers

In 1936 Livy Miller Ashby wrote down what she had heard about the Cornstalk Indians. For reasons which will be explained in Chapter 7 there are problems with her "history," nevertheless the stories which she collected from descendants of the early settlers are worthy of being included here. Some of them are from Putnam County but concern Montgomery County too.

### TIDBITS ABOUT PETER CORNSTALK

> One reason why the Cornstalk Indians and the early pioneers lived so peacefully together was because of the character of the chief himself. Everyone I have ever heard speak of him said he was a very agreeable person, sensible, dignified and devout--a man who could be trusted. He had great ability as a leader and was very peaceful. His influence over his tribe was very great. These are the impressions I have of him as gathered from the grandsons and grandaughters of pioneers who lived near him at that time. It is said that he was a tall fine looking chief, rather portly as to figure and with a very pleasing manner. . . .
>
> Mrs. Susie Slayton of Roachdale . . . grew up near the place where the Cornstalk Indians' camped on the creek. She related to me the following story about a pioneer family and their relations with the Cornstalk Indians.
>
> "David and Lydia Henry moved to the government land in Montgomery County, Indiana, on the west bank near the mouth of a small stream known as Cornstalk . They brought on one horse several articles of value. A spot was selected east of the mouth of Cornstalk and the articles were piled in a pile and covered with brush. David made friends with the Indians and as he wished to spend some time farther south, he went to the Indian camp and asked the chief to look after his possessions until he returned in the spring. We are told that Peter Cornstalk took care of their belongings and nothing had been disturbed when they returned. . . .

"He was at this time an old man whose former wife had passed away and he had recently married a young Indian girl. A Frenchman who had sold shaws, beads, and trinkets that Indians greatly admire fell in love with her and they ran away. Peter Cornstalk said he didn't blame her for he [the Frenchman] was a much better looking and younger man that he was.". . .

Mrs. McAlinden who formerly lived near Roachdale, but who later lived in Greencastle, remembered the Cornstalk Indians. She mentioned especially Jesse Anderson, a white settler in Franklin Township, who practically lived with the Indians, accompanying them on their hunting expeditions.[23]

The following story was recorded by Blanche Hamm, a decendant of pioneers who settled in the Wayne Township area.

SHARING THE FOOD

Bazzle Tracy . . . came to Montgomery County in October of 1826. . . . An Indian camp was less than a quarter of a mile east of their new home and in the winter the squaws and children would come to the Tracy cabin begging for food. Elizabeth never turned them away, shared what she had, but made them wait on the door step because she said they "needed a bath and smelled."[24]

Two Crows (Arthur Yates), a Chippewa Indian who presently lives in Lafayette, Indiana, has suggested the theory that the odor to which the settlers objected might have been a result of the large amount of fat included in the Indians' diet rather than their need for a bath, for the Indians bathed as frequently as did the settlers.[25]

For much of his life Remley Herr was interested in preserving the history of Montgomery County. The following two stories were taken from a manuscript written in 1906 by Ambrose Remley, Remley Herr's grandfather. The first recounts an experience which John Remley (father of Ambrose and great-grandfather of Remley) had with the Indians in 1825.

INDIAN JUSTICE

. . . on the dry branch just below the bridge on the Yountsville road . . . seems to have been a favorite place for the Indians to camp. Father, on his way to town

one day had to pass through their camp, and when he came up to them noticed they had been having trouble among themselves.

They got some whiskey somewhere and had been having a drunken fight. John Remley saw one fat old Indian lying out on the ice with a severe stab wound in the stomach. He had cut a little hole in the ice with his hachet and was slaking his thirst and bathing his wound in the water.

On his way back from town Remley observed they had gotten pretty well over their drunken spree and had everything fixed up. They had "convened court," and the Indian who had done the stabbing had been sentenced to have one ear cut off close to his head, and right there and then, sitting on a log, his ear was cut off. How was that for quick justice?[26]

## A SNAKE BITE STORY

Down near Wesley, just after the [Civil] war . . . I [Ambrose] moved to my farm, and in plowing one of my fields, I noticed my plow would turn out stone, seemingly the foundation of some old building. I asked several of my neighbors about it, but no one knew anything.

One day I was plowing in the field when my old neighbor William Heath, one of the very first settlers in that neighborhood, came to me, and in our talk I asked Uncle Billy (as we all called him) about the stone.

He said that was the foundation of the old Still House that used to stand there. . . . In our further conversation Uncle Billy told me this Indian and snake story.

"Right down there in the lower part of your field used to be very wet, boggy land, very difficult to get through.

"One day," Heath went on, "the Still House owner found a large rattlesnake in the boggy land. Nearby were Indians who came to the Still House to beg for whiskey. The operator called to an old Indian to come to him, telling him if he would let the snake bite him he could have a pint of whiskey.

"No sooner said than the old Indian stuck out his hand to the snake and let it bite him on the back of the hand. . . . Then the Indian started through the bushes, looking to the right and to the left until he found what he wanted, an herb or plant of some kind--the Indian antidote for snake-bite. After picking off a handful of leaves the Indian put them in his mouth and chewed a while, then patted them down on the snake-bite and came back ready for his pint of whiskey."[27]

Dr. Robert Petty, from the Biology Department of Wabash College, says that the leaves the Indian used were probably from a white ash tree, although wintergreen and wild ginger leaves were also used as antidotes for snakebites. All three plants have a high concentrate of acetylsalicylic acid. How effective they were is not known. He also says that although the bloodroot plant is popularly called "snakeroot" it was probably not the plant referred to in this story because the bloodroot was used by the Indians to brew tea.

Another story from the Remley family concerns Sarah (McCain) Remley. It begins shortly after Sarah married John Remley and moved to Montgomery County in 1825.

A CHICKEN THIEF

The following spring after the wedding John had to make a trip back to Lebanon, Ohio, for supplies. As company for Sarah, he arranged for her sister to stay with her. They spent their days busy with the usual pioneer chores, milking the cow, churning butter, feeding the chickens and so on. At night they were ready for a well earned rest. At least, that was the way of things until late one night they were suddenly awakened by the chickens making a frenzied squawking. Neither of the young women were [sic] willing to go out to the hen house in the dark to chase away what they thought was a coon or some other varmit [sic]. Sarah then thought of firing the rifle towards the hen house. And so the rifle was taken down off its pegs, the door cautiously opened a crack, and one shot was fired towards the hen house. To their surprise, the chickens soon quieted down and they were able to go back to sleep.

The next morning after breakfast they casually went to see if any chickens had been killed by the varmit [sic] of last night. What they saw, to their horror, was a

man's arm lying stretched out across the chicken roosts. After calming down, their second look discovered a dead Indian attached to the arm. Although the young women never would tell how they did it, nevertheless, they had a hard problem in disposing of the man's body. It had to be done in such a way that other Indians wouldn't discover what had happened and seek a cruel revenge. . . .[28]

The following is an often reprinted story handed down through the LaFollette family.

THE TURNIPS STORY

The LaFollettes moved to Indiana [northern Parke County] and the fall of 1826 found them settling on land located only a few miles south of Cornstalk's village [in Montgomery County].

For a while that year the LaFollettes lived in a tent, but they finished their cabin . . . by Dec. 17, 1826.

With the coming of spring LaFollette put out his crop and with it a garden in which were planted some turnips. Although there's no recorded memory of the harvest condition of his crops that season, it's still recalled that LaFollette's turnips did very well.

All during this time the relationships between the LaFollettes and the Indians of Peter Cornstalk's village had been very friendly. Both the Indians and the whites of the community did little kindnesses for one another in their efforts to maintain this pleasant association.

But, of course, in spite of their best intention the whites were doing away with the hunting grounds of the Indians, and some of the social ways of the latter were not, at their best, quite acceptable to the whites.

The LaFollettes . . . thought their Indian neighbors rather overdid their neighborliness and became just plain beggars.

The winter of 1827-28 was a difficult one for the Indians of Cornstalk's village. Their trouble was that they could no longer find enough game to furnish their people with food. Starvation threatened. The LaFollettes understood this, and so one cold winter morning when a squaw

came to their door begging for food it was with an extra feeling of sympathy that she was invited to enter.

Then she was taken to the turnips and told to help herself. The squaw picked up three or four turnips and politely stepped back. The LaFollettes, knowing that such a small amount would barely furnish the needs of one meal, urged her to take more. Then, believing that at best she could carry only two armloads, they generously encouraged her further, telling her to take all she could carry.

It was then that the squaw performed somewhat of a feat of magic. She removed her head scarf, which unfolded into a small blanket. Then she piled on this blanket all the turnips she could, pulled the four corners together, gave them a twist and walked away with most of the LaFollette turnip crop.[29]

Three other stories from the LaFollette family were written down in 1924 by their great-great-granddaughter, Pearl LaFollette.

THE PAPOOSE STORY

One day, my great-great-grandmother, who was a small child then, went to see an old Indian squaw and her little papoose. When she saw the little papoose she said, "Oh! what pretty little white hands." This angered the old squaw, but after many apologies by my great-great-grandmother, she became reconciled.

A DINNER PARTY

Another time, my great-great-grandmother was asked by this same squaw to come and eat dinner with her. She told the squaw she would come if she [the squaw] would be clean. They went, but when dinner time came the squaw washed her hands and made cornbread with the water in which she had washed them.

HOLES IN THE BLANKETS

The Indians of this neighborhood, who were the Wea tribe, were kind to them [the settlers] and helped them work. They were interested in the lives of the white people and would sometimes burn holes in their blankets so that they might enjoy watching the white woman patch them.[30]

THE PEEPING TOMS

This great curiosity which the Indians had regarding the white settlers seemed to have been widespread--and not always welcomed by the pioneers. The Meharry family history records that the James Meharrys got so tired of having the Indians watch what they were doing that when they built their first brick house, in 1838, they specifically designed it so that the windows on the first floor were high enough off the ground that the Indians could not see in.[31]

A Wayntown/Scott Township/Peter Cornstalk story:

THE SHEARING OF THE SHEEP

A story told by Darwin Servies to friend Ed Shea at Waynetown has to do with a bit of life and work around the Cornstalk community down in Scott Township. An ancestor of Servies was a widow who had some sheep needing shearing. She'd heard the Indians could be helpful, so she got word to Peter Cornstalk himself. And here came walking up to her little home the big chief followed by a bevy of squaws. The tale is that while Cornstalk had tea with the lady in front of her house those squaws went to work and "harvested" that wool crop.[32]

In 1972, when the Falls of the Me-Ah-Me Subdivision was being developed just off the Yountsville Road, Hazel Little, a great-granddaughter of Thomas Hall, was asked to record the history of the land.[33] Part of the taped interview tells about the Indians and this land.

A ROCK AND A CAVE

There is a legend that my grandfather told my father, and my father told us. Now, whether it is authentic or not I don't know, but there are things to substantiate that it is authentic, because there is a big black boulder at the grave of Mr. Roundtree. He was quite well known and lived on East Wabash Avenue. He loved to go fishing, and would get in his boat at Indian Ford and row out to this big boulder, sit up there and fish. He asked his son (because of the historic value) to see that this boulder was moved to his grave when he died, at the Oak Hill Cemetery. There is a bronze marker telling about it on the grave.

This rock also played quite an act when the Indians

made friends with my grandfather [great-grandfather?]. He gave them permission (as long as they would not kill any of his cows or hogs that were on the farm) to camp on this land until the water receded in the river so they could see a foot of this rock protruding out of the water; then they knew it was safe to ford their ponies across the river.

One day one of the old chiefs was talking to him (he often talked with the Indians and often gave them food when they were hungry in the winter time) and the old chief said, "You've been good to us and we want to show you something." He said, "Now you take your shoes off," and grandfather [great-grandfather?] took his shoes off, and the old chief blindfolded him and led him to water. It sounded like it was a brook, we have always thought that it was the brook above Flat Rock Falls on the Proffitt place. As he went over this water . . . he could hear them moving a stone, like it was a door in a rock, they moved this and led him down some steps. . . . They told him they would show him some treasures if he would never try to find it. So he went down the steps and they took his blindfold off.

All around the walls were skins of wild animals that the Indians collected. They had one bag they showed him of arrowheads and Indian ends of war clubs. Then they opened another bag and it was gold nuggets. A lot of the rocks you could see the gold in, some of them small and some larger. They also had tomahawks and war clubs. Then, they led grandfather [great-grandfather?] back out up the steps and out of this cave. Again, he heard the rock move and grate. He pounded his feet on it and it sounded hollow in that place. So that made us think that it might have grown over, the rocks might have grown together. There is a porous rock like that right below the falls. We thought maybe that might be the cave, but different people have tried to find the cave, but no one has found it yet.[34]

It has been suggested that perhaps this cave was used as a place to keep things which had religious significance to the Indians rather than a "treasure" cave--as in the Cave of Silver stories.[35]

Albert T. Thompson wrote down this story as it had been

handed down through his famnily.

AN INDIAN BURIAL

In 1827, my great uncle, Ephraim Blackford, and Andy Biddle came from Ohio on a visit to my grandparents. . . .

On this occasion [they] had gone several days on a hunting trip which had taken them into the vicinity of what is now Wallace. They were returning home and had reached the woods located where Mrs. Remley's farm now is. Hearing some Indians approaching they hid themselves in the thick brush and as the Indians came into closer view the boys saw them bearing a burden. I have often wondered what the feelings of those boys must have been on learning that the burden those Indians bore was a dead man, evidently one of their band.

The Indians were in full war paint and feathers, carrying guns. They placed their dead comrade on the ground about fifty yards from where the boys were hidden and their Chief instructed two of the band to "circle" the place, which they did, starting in opposite directions from the same spot, walking in a circle and passing each other on the way. But the boys were hidden inside the circle and being expert woodsmen they left no trace for the Indian scouts to discover, remaining unobserved and safe in their hiding place and witnessed a strange proceeding, that of the burial of the dead Indian.

The Indians, after selecting the spot for the grave, first removed all the brush and leaves, then removed the top soil, putting it in a pile to itself. Then they dug the grave with their cooking pans, tomahawks and knives. When the grave was dug they placed leaves in the bottom of it, then the dead man's pipe, his gun and ammunition, hunting knife and tomahawk, and some meat for his journey to the Happy Hunting Grounds. Wrapping him in a blanket they placed the body in the grave, putting leaves over it, the fine brush and more leaves, finally filling the grave with earth, placing the top soil back on top, then the leaves and brush. This done the Indians held a ceremony, then sat about and smoked in silence for a long while. The Chief then arose and walked away and after being gone some time called twice, when the others rose and followed him, trotting away in single file.

Ephraim and Andy followed the Indians for a distance

and on being sure they would not return the boys, filled with curiosity, returned to the grave and exhumed the dead Indian, finding he had been shot through the body and had evidently been dead but a short time.

The boys reburied the Indian and leaving the grave exactly as the Indians had arranged it they hastened to the home of my grandparents and told them of the strange scene they had witnessed. There was no known trouble with Indians at the time and the supposition was that this band had been on a raiding trip and the man was thus shot.

The boys then returned to Ohio and on subsequent visits they, together with my grandfather and father often tried to locate this grave, but a forest fire had soon wiped out all the landmarks and the grave remains undiscovered to this day.[36]

After reading this story Dr. Jack Waddell of Purdue University commented that it was unlikely that the Indians were actually a war party as there were no hostile tribes to be raided in this area in 1827. He suggested that the Indians were perhaps just "rowdies" out for a good time or perhaps out stealing pigs. He said also that, as with all people in the process of losing their cultural identity because of the intrusion of another culture, Indians frequently dressed "native" to help them hold on to their culture.

He also issued a further word of caution to be kept in mind when one reads any of these stories. He emphasized that when dealing with the accounts of early settlers or family folklore one must remember that there is always a potential difference between the factual situation and the viewer's or storyteller's interpretation of the situation. For example, the Indians might have been in normal everyday paint and feathers but the boys, or later generations, envisaged them as being in "full war paint and feathers."[37] The latter makes a much more exciting story.

A theme which appears in several stories concerns an old Indian who reportedly returned to the area many years after all the Indians had left. Whether the stories all refer to the same individual or to different ones is not known.

One such story was recorded by Miss Nellie Smith probably

around 1940. Nellie was the great granddaughter of a brave and remarkable woman, Charity Smith. As background to the story the reader should know that around 1821 Ephraim and Charity Smith decided to move their family from Ohio to the new land just opening up in Montgomery County, Indiana. Unfortunately Ephraim died in Ohio before the trip could be made but, the plans having been completed, Charity decided to come ahead. She brought her seven children here, then went by horseback to Terre Haute, and on November 8, 1822 she entered land east of what was to become Crawfordsville: the SW 1/4 of Section 34 Township 19 Range 4. Here is my rewording of Nellie's account of the family's story.

UNSUSPECTED PROTECTORS

Once each year, Charity, always known as the "Widow Smith," traveled by horseback via the Indian Trail to Cincinnati to buy the staple grocery supplies. It took her a week to go and come back. There were so many Indians around at that time she was afraid they would steal the children and she often remarked "I never know when I go to Cincinnati if the children will be here when I return." Although she did not know it she had no need to worry.

It was said that she never turned an Indian away from her door and always had beads to give them whenever they stopped by. Years later one of her sons, Enoch, often told Nellie and his other grandchildren about something that happened after Charity had died [December 8, 1865]. He said that early one morning an old Indian stopped at the door and asked for his mother. Enoch told him that she had gone to the "happy hunting ground." The old Indian said, "She always was a friend to the Indian," and told him, "She never went to Cincinnati that we did not send a runner with her, although she never knew it."[38]

Another story about a returning Indian was recorded by Livy Miller Ashby in 1936. The time frame in which it would have taken place is close to that in the Smith story.

A MYSTERIOUS VISITOR

Howard Ashby whose father and grandfather lived near the Cornstalk neighborhood says, "To my best knowledge and belief the last trace of the Cornstalk Indians in this neighborhood was about 1870. At this time long after they had departed for new hunting grounds a lone Indian

returned and tramped around the old hunting grounds along Cornstalk Creek. He was there about three days and I can remember my father telling about him. To all questions he would simply shrug his shoulders and say, "Big trees all gone." He disappeared as mysteriously as he came.[39]

In 1924 June Brookshire recorded the following poignent "return visit" story as it was told to her by her grandmother, Sarah (Harrison) Brookshire. The only indication in it of a date is that it happened "many years later," after the general exodus of the Indians. If the date was 1870, as in the above stories, it is highly unlikely that the individual was Peter Cornstalk. Peter was considered to be "old" in the 1820's therefore he was probably dead by 1870. For the Indian to have been Peter the visit would probably have had to have occurred around 1840, when Sarah was 21. Regardless of the name of the individual we learn much about the attitudes and feelings of the Indians and the settlers through this story.

A SAD HOMECOMING

My grandmother was yet a child when the little Indian settlement started with their ponies, squaws, blankets and children to the Indian reservation in Wells and Jay Counties. They passed her cabin as they were following the creek going northeast and it was the first time my grandmother had ever seen them. As she told it, she was much frightened especially when her father scolded a little boy that was much frightened and crying. That was the last she saw of the Indians for many years until one day Peter Cornstalk came back to visit the scene of the old hunting ground. Bitter was his sorrow when he saw how the white settlers had pilfered the graves of those he had left. He found the new settlers, for there were many now, had robbed his dead for the blankets and beads and other things which the graves might contain. And as the old chief was returning to his people, never to come again, he passed my grandmother's door and there with tears in his eyes and head bowed with grief he said that he or his tribe had never molested the whites in any way and above all had never disturbed their graves, and he thought it very wrong that the whites would show such disrespect to them. Yet he left with no malice in his heart. Left only with a pity for those who would stoop so low as to commit such wrongs. [40]

## Chapter 2: The Prehistoric Period

### The Land

At least three times during the Pleistocene Epoch glaciers covered much of Indiana. The period of most interest to us was that of the Wisconsin glaciation. As the ice melted, some 20,000 years ago, the water ran into paths which had been gouged out by earlier glaciation, and our rivers--Sugar Creek, Potato Creek, and Big and Little Raccoon Creeks--were formed.

The water also gathered in the low places to form lakes and swamps. Thousands of years later the white settlers named the remains of these areas Lye and Black Creek Swamps, and Ancient Lake Harney. (See Fig. 2)

As the glacier receded it also left behind great piles of gravel and large boulders. This geological feature is distintive enough to have been given its own scientific name: the Crawfordsville Moraine.[1]

The land was fertile, and as the temperature warmed up, plants began to flourish. The area which is now known as Montgomery County, Indiana, became a home for animals of all kinds.

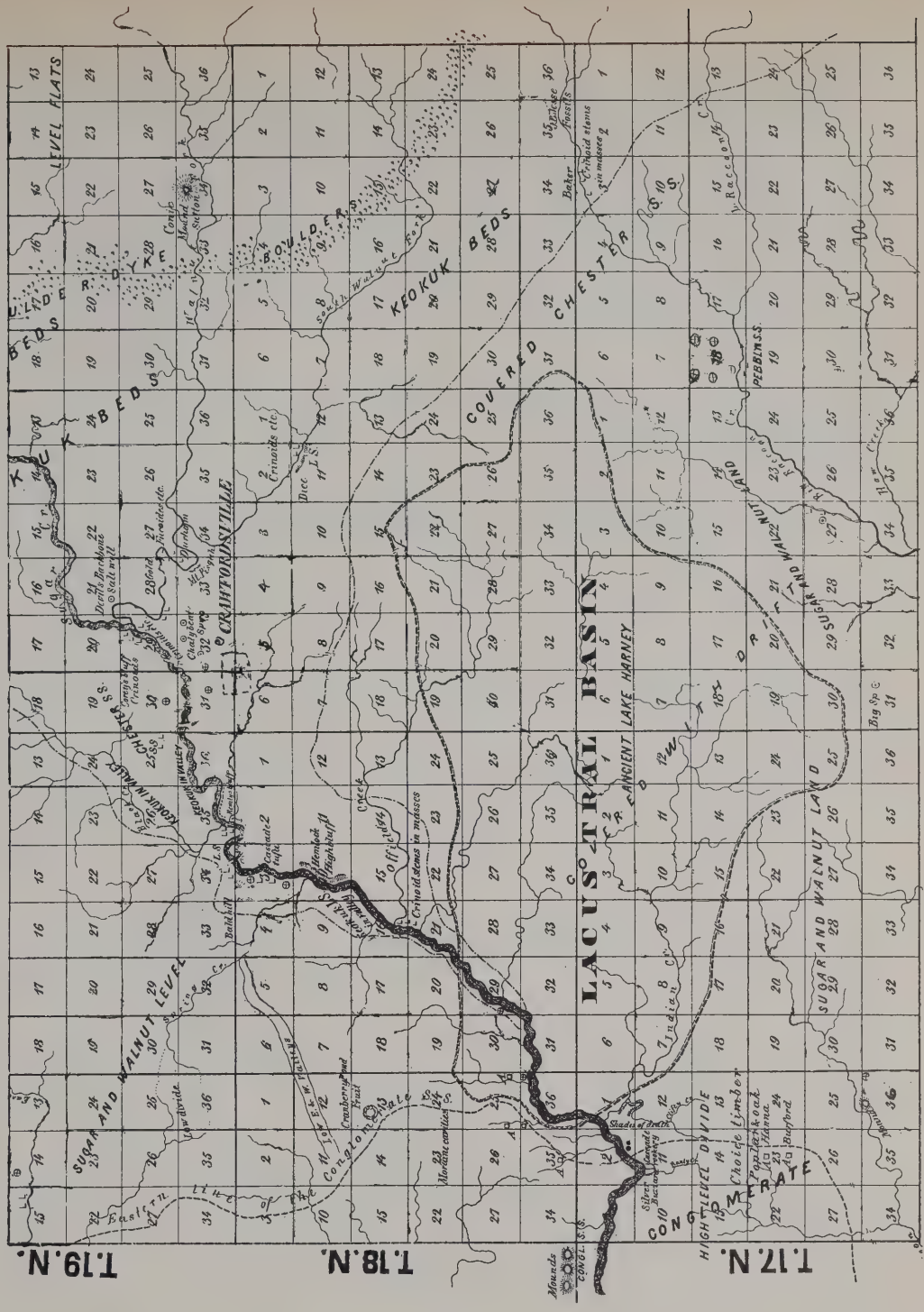
### Prehistoric Animals

Before the time of the Wisconsin glaciation, thousands of years earlier, this land was covered by a sea in which crinoids flourished. Later, the remains of the crinoids became fossilized. Today these fossils are popularly called "Indian beads" because the round segments of the crinoid stems look like beads on a string. It is natural to assume that these fossils were used by the early Indians for decorations, but this does not appear to have been true. Archaeologists report only a few instances where they have been found on archaeological sites. They were not commonly used by prehistoric peoples.[2]

It was in the Pleistocene Epoch that prehistoric mammals came into this area. In "Ice and Land," an article on the paleontology of Indiana, William Wayne made this comment:

> Pleistocene vertebrates were many, but only a few--mostly the big ones--are known from Indiana. Someone remarked once that every bog that is bigger than an acre

Fig. 2. Geological Map of Montgomery County. (Simplified version of the map compiled for the 7th Annual Report of E.




T. Cox, State Geologist. Geology by John Collett, 1875. Railroads and towns--except Crawfordsville--have been omitted.)

probably contains the bones of at least one mastodon.

> This may be true; certainly Indiana has been an exporter of mastodon and mammoth skeletons. . . . In addition to these behemoths, giant beavers, elk, muskox, and ground sloths roamed the area. Mice and other small vertebrates surely were abundant, too, but they are so tiny and unspectacular they have been overlooked almost completely so far.[3]

Evidence that mastodons were in our area is contained in two local accounts. The first is from the 1878 Atlas of Montgomery County.

> The cold climate changed, and a half tropical climate must have existed, for at Remley's Bluff, one and a half miles west of town [Crawfordsville] some bones of the extinct mastodon were found, a giant even among the elephants of that period, which fed on tropical plants.[4]

The second appeared in the Crawfordsville Weekly Journal on November 8, 1895.

> Frank Beadle, of near Wingate, Tuesday, brought to this city the large jaw of the prehistoric mastodon found by him in the creek on his farm. It was photographed by Nicholson & Son. Mr. Beadle will sell the fossil in sixty days to the highest bidder.[5]

Proof that mammoths and mastodons were hunted by early men has been found in the western areas of North America where artifacts and remains of beasts are in direct association.[6] Such sites have not as yet been located in Indiana. However, the people who were here certainly hunted smaller game and, since they had no way of preserving food and were dependent upon their "catch of the day" for sustenance, where the animals went, humans followed. The lush forests and prairies of this area provided abundant fruits and plants (see Chapter 4) and, judging from the great numbers of artifacts which have been collected, the Montgomery County area seems to have been a natural hunting ground for early people.

## Prehistoric Artifacts

The term "prehistoric" refers to the time period before written records were kept. Because writing systems were developed at different times by various peoples or--as was the

case in North America--writing was brought into an area by another culture, the date changes with different cultures and societies. For Indiana the date is late in the seventeenth century at the time the French explorers entered this area. If an object can be identified as belonging to an Indian culture earlier than that time it is said to be prehistoric.

In general, prehistoric artifacts can be divided into three catagories: hunting tools, food-processing tools, and utility devices.

Hunting tools are perhaps the most easily recognized and therefore most often found artifacts. Projectile points and arrowheads belong in this class. Projectile points are sharpened stones which were lashed to the ends of spears. Sometimes they are referred to simply as "points" or "blades." Some points found in Indiana have been dated as early as 10,000-14,000 B.C.[7]

The prehistoric people developed a spear thrower known today as an "atl-atl." It made the spear into a more efficient weapon. Some Eskimos and various aboriginal cultures in South America still use such weapons and it is from them that scientists discovered the use of the bannerstones as counterweights on the atl-atl.[8] (Fig. 3 and 5)

Fig. 3. Atl-Atl
(Drawing by Mary Early Johnson)

It is difficult to put a specific date on the introduction of the bow and arrow in North America. Scientists now think they were first used in the Southwestern part of the country around A.D. 500 and around A.D. 700 in this area. Therefore, stone arrowheads found in Montgomery County probably date after A.D. 700.[9]

Food-processing tools include knives, scrapers, grinding stones, hoes, and other devices used to cultivate, harvest, and prepare food.

Utility devices include drills, hatchets, celts (ungrooved axes), bone needles, and other implements necessary for making the tools themselves or for activities of daily living. Some people might classify the celt as a food processing tool for in the past it was thought that it was used like a scraper in skinning animals, however, Dr. Pace, from Indiana State University, says that the most current thinking is that it, like the tomahawk, was a woodworking tool.

In order to talk about prehistoric cultures in an organized manner scientists have divided them into several groups. Dr. Keller, Director of the Glenn A. Black Laboratory of Archaeology in Bloomington, has summarized them in his book, An Introduction to the Prehistory of Indiana.

> Indiana is a small and, from the perspective of prehistory, artificially defined unit in eastern United States. Certainly, the prehistoric Indians recognized no such political entity. Archaeologists and prehistorians . . . have devised a number of generally understood frameworks for organizing their data. The one used here emphasizes what appear to be the major cultural continuities in our area. These continuities are recognized by the persistence of certain life-styles that are usually reflected in recurring or stylistically related manufactured objects. This is what we mean by tradition. There are four major prehistoric traditions in the eastern United States: Paleo-Indian, Archaic, Woodland, and Mississippian.
>
> The Paleo-Indian Tradition (to about 8,000 B.C.) refers to the earliest well-documented New World populations. These groups apparently lived in North America during the waning days of the "ice age" (Pleistocene) and at least in some areas hunted and killed the large extinct mammals associated with the period.

The Archaic Tradition (8,000 B.C. to 1,000 B.C.) includes early groups which were small in size and seasonably mobile and who depended in large measure upon hunting and gathering for their food. The time period is one during which there were substantial changes in lifestyle. Related to the earlier Paleo-Indian Tradition in the beginning, there is through time an increasingly more efficient utilization of the available natural resources, a more specialized tool kit, the beginnings of trade in raw materials, greater residential stability, and a seeming population increase. Also, the burial ceremonialism that is reflected in the mounds and craftsmanship of somewhat later periods has its beginnings in the Archaic. These changes and developments occur during an interval when the natural environment is also undergoing modification following the Pleistocene, the end result being natural conditions that approximate those encountered when the first Europeans entered the area.

The Woodland Tradition (1,000 B.C. to A.D. 900) is customarily defined by the presence of pottery, the surface of which is impressed with cord and/or fabric, and the development of a specialized burial ritualism. Most of the burial mounds in Indiana are associated with this tradition. Plant cultivation, while there is much debate as to how important it was for the Woodland peoples, was practiced.

The Mississippian Tradition (A.D. 900 to A.D. 1600) ultimately includes settled town life in some areas of eastern United States and greater residential stability in others. This adaptation was based upon an intensive utilization of cultivated plant products, i.e., maize, beans, and squash. The presence in some areas of flat-surfaced mounds upon which were erected important structures and a distinctive pottery complex help define this tradition.[10]

Traditions are subdivided into various periods which are defined by distinctive artifact styles and cultural practices. These subdivisions are designated by terms such as "Early Woodland" or "Late Paleo" or sometimes take their names from specific sites such as "Riverton," "Adena," and "Hopewell." The artifacts on the next few pages show representative items from various cultures. The numbers under some items indicate the count of such artifacts tallied in the Montgomery County Survey. The Survey will be discussed below.

MacCorkle Stemmed
(10)

Plano Blade
(5)

St. Charles
(16)

Dalton
(10)

LeCroy
(18)

Kirk Corner Notched
(11)

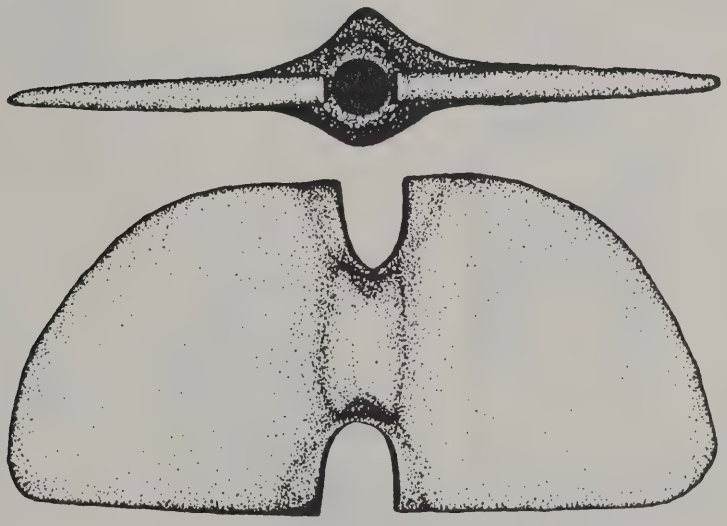
Fig. 4. Late Paleo--Early Archaic Blades
(James H. Kellar, An Introduction to the Prehistory of Indiana. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1983.)

Double-Bitted Axe

Tubular

Crescent

Notched Ovate



"Fish Vertebra"
(5)

Fig. 5. Archaic Bannerstones
(Drawings of top four items courtesy of Robert E. Pace, Indiana State University; drawing of bottom item from Kellar, An Introduction to the Prehistory of Indiana,)

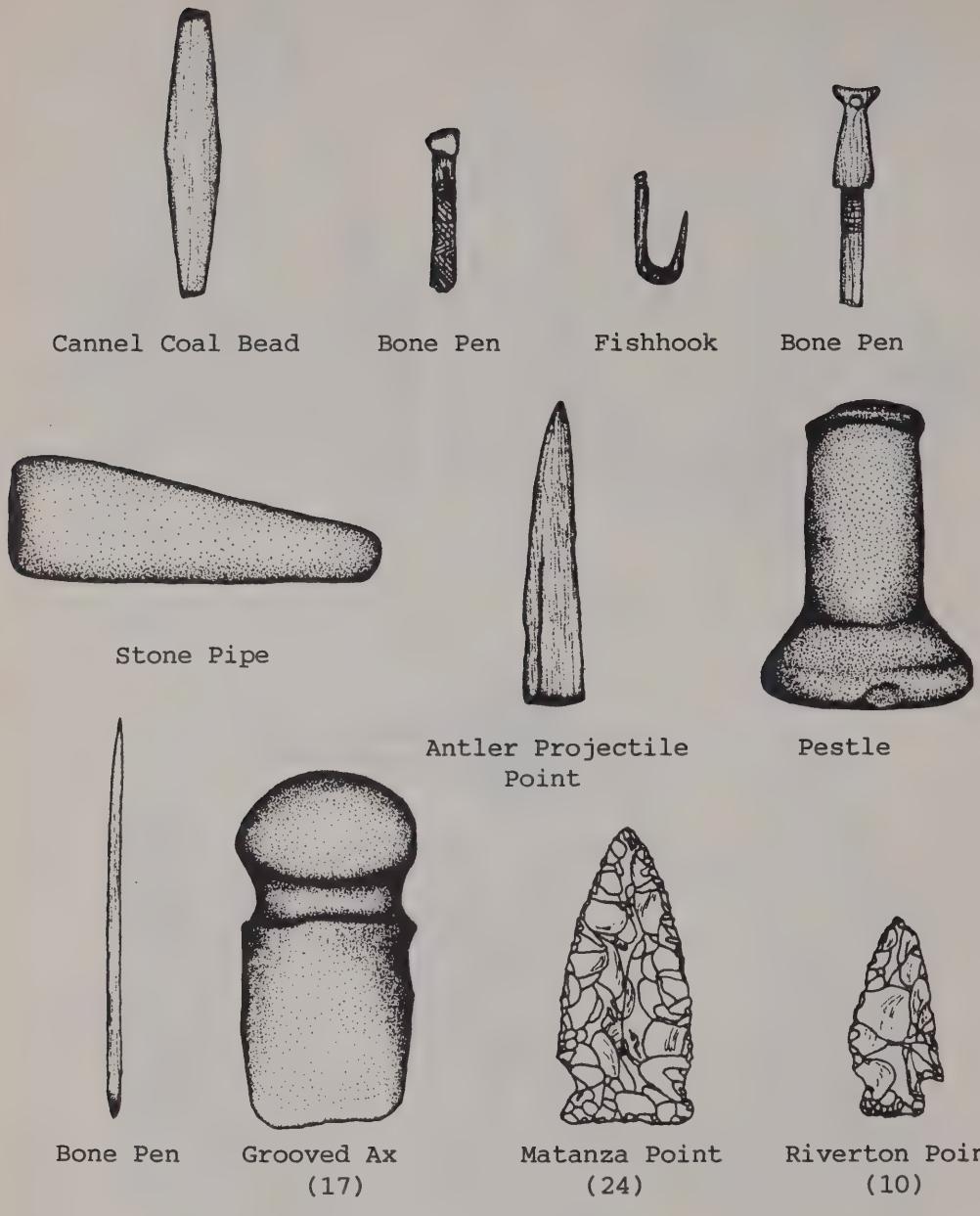
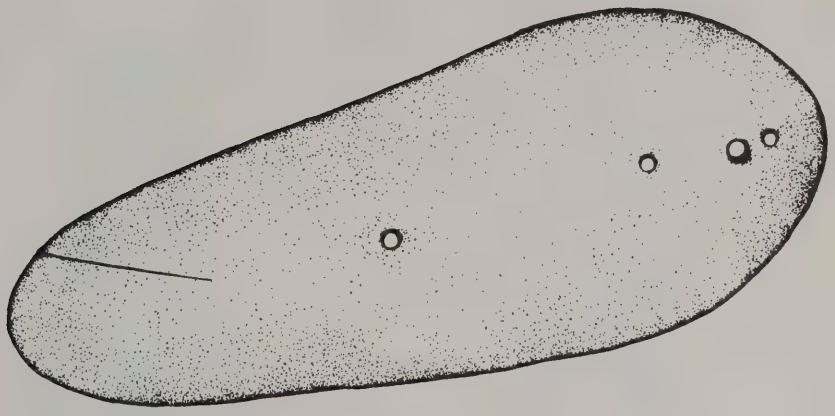



Fig. 6. Late Archaic Artifacts
(Kellar, An Introduction to the Prehistory of Indiana.)

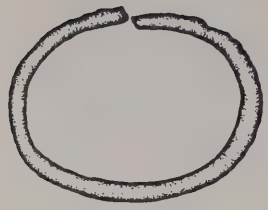
"Turkey Tail" Blade
(3)



Marine Shell Sandal Sole Gorget

Birdstone

Fig. 7. Late Archaic Artifacts (north)
(Kellar, An Introduction to the Prehistory of Indiana.)

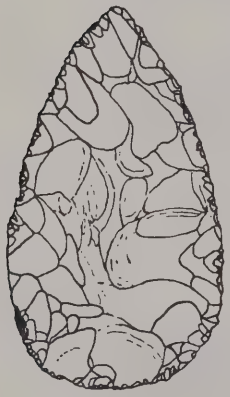


Copper Bracelet

Montgomery Incised

Adena Point
(50)

Expanded Center Gorget (slate)

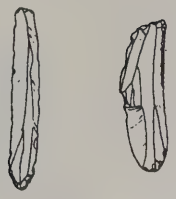


Adena Cache Blade
(50)

Fig. 8. Adena Artifacts
(Kellar, An Introduction to the Prehistory of Indiana.)

Copper Earspool

Stone Effigy Pipe



Prismatic Flint Knives
(50+)

Hopewell Cache Blade
(29)

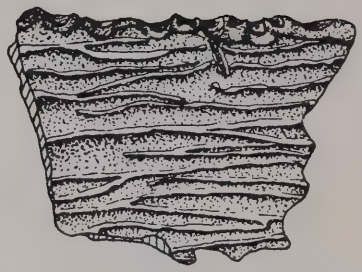
Snyders Point
(25)

Lowe Flared Base Point
(50+)

Fig. 9. Middle Woodland Artifacts
(Kellar, An Introduction to the Prehistory of Indiana)

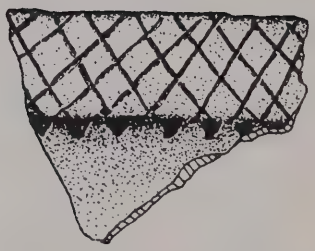
Clay Figurine

Rocker Stamped Pottery



Simple Stamped Pottery

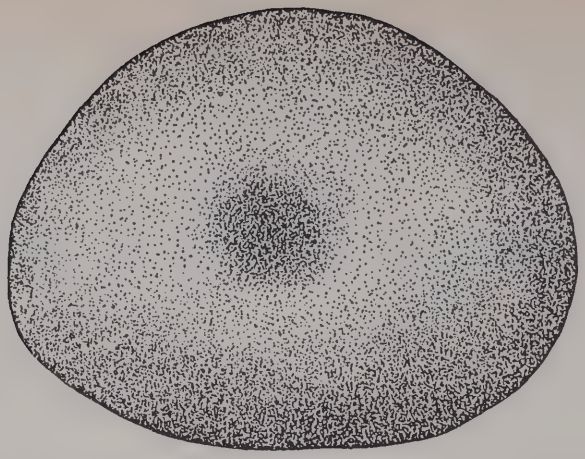
Complicated Stamped Pottery



Cross Hatched Pottery

Fig. 10. Middle Woodland Pottery
(Kellar, An Introduction to the Prehistory of Indiana)

Fig. 11. Angle Mounds' Pottery (Mississippian culture)
(Kellar, An Introduction to the Prehistory of Indiana)



Manos (a combination milling and nutting stone)
(150+)

Large and Small Chert Blades or Bifaced Knives (the large blade may also have been used for digging and woodworking)
(86)

Hafted Scraper End Scraper
(300+ scrapers, 100+ "butchering" stones)

Fig. 12. Butchering and Food Processing Tools.
(Drawings courtesy of Robert E. Pace, Indiana State University)

## Montgomery County's Artifacts

William L. Anderson began his Early History of Ladoga with this passage:

> That almost every foot of land on which this community [Ladoga] resides has been pressed by the feet of human being[s] who preceeded [sic] the white man there is evidence not only convincing but conclusive. I suppose there is not a farmer's boy among us who has not picked up arrow heads as he went to and fro about the farm. He knows that wherever he finds one of these there has been a hunter or a warrior. It is estimated that not less than one hundred thousand of these implements were scattered over Clark Township when our fathers came here. An arrow is no[t] like a bullet, shot and forgotten, but is diligently sought after [and reused] until its head is broken or hopelessly lost. It may be shot hundreds of times before this happens. Remembering this let one calculate how many men must have wandered through the dense forest that once covered our homeland.[11]

The historical writings of the county (Beckwith, the 1878 Atlas, etc.) comment on the "fine" collections of men such as T. D. Brown, R. K. Krout, David Harshbarger, and Junis Allen. It is unfortunate that we do not know where these collections are today. Several of them were reportedly given to the Old State House Museum. Ronald Richards, presently Curator of Natural History at the Indiana State Museum, made a major effort to try to locate them for us, but had no success. He feels that the artifacts are probably in the State Museum's collection but that over the years they have become mixed in with all the other artifacts so that it is no longer possible to identify which items came from our county. The Museum does have a recent collection which belonged to Jack Householder. It includes some materials from Montgomery County, but they have not as yet been classified.[12]

In effect the same problem exists with the artifact collection owned by the Montgomery County Historical Society which is housed in the Lane Place. It contains some very fine items but because they were not labeled when they were first found we have no way of knowing which actually came from Montgomery County and which were collected from other locations.

A fine collection of artifacts has recently been lent to the New Richmond-Coal Creek Township Museum in New Richmond,

Indiana. It is assumed but cannot be proved that most of the artifacts came from the Montgomery County area.

In the spring of 1984, in an attempt to gather information concerning the prehistoric inhabitants of our area, contact was made with Dr. James Kellar at the Glenn A. Black Laboratory. He checked the Laboratory's Archaeological Site Survey File for us, but the results were disappointing. Although it contains references to 44 prehistoric sites in Montgomery County, Dr. Kellar reported,

> [these] sites . . . do not represent a systematic assemblage of information. Rather, they result from sporadic environmental review projects or information from collectors. In several cases only the locations are known. No large sites are recorded and most are documented by a handful of flint chips and others are historic in nature. There is nothing terribly significant or meaningful that relates to the broad course of culture history of the area.[13]

The Montgomery County Survey

This general situation--reports of numerous artifacts collected over many years, but no substantial information available on them--was indeed frustrating. In May of 1984, in a further attempt to glean some information about artifacts from our county, the Crawfordsville District Public Library sponsored a survey of artifacts owned by local collectors. Dr. Kellar sent a listing of the few relevant artifacts from the holdings at the laboratory and these were added to the talley.

We acknowledge that the survey was not conducted in a scientific manner but it appeared to be the only method we had to gather information on the prehistory of the county. Considering the dearth of information previous to it, the survey seemed better than nothing. The results raised the number of tabulated county artifacts from the handful in the state collecting points (the Glenn A. Black Laboratory at Indiana University, Ball State University, and Indiana State University) to an estimated 1,200.

In addition to projectile points the survey tallied hundreds of scrapers, knives, and butchering stones--items which would have been used to skin and butcher animals and to scrape hides to be used for clothing and other items.

Not as numerous but also present were stone tools and over 150 milling stones. It is difficult to date such items. Those which predate the introduction of agriculture would have been used to dig roots or to grind nuts into meal. The objects used for actual cultivation of crops probably post-date 500 B.C., as that is the date generally given for the introduction of corn into the Midwest.

In round figures and by general categories the survey showed the following results:

Projectile points:
3 points from 14,000 to 8,000 B.C. (the Paleo period)

130 points from 8,000 to 1,000 B.C. (the Late Paleo, Early Archaic, and Late Archaic periods)

250 points from 1,000 B.C. to A.D. 700 (the Middle Woodland and Adena periods)

Food-processing and farming tools: 800

Utility tools: 80

Other artifacts of interest were 5 Archaic bannerstones, 3 turkey tails, and 2 fragments of pottery. A more detailed accounting of some of the points and the importance of various items will be discussed below under "To What Cultures Might the Graves Have Belonged?"

The survey forms are on file at the Crawfordsville District Public Library and are available for scholarly research. It is hoped that further efforts will be made to coordinate the collecting activities in the county. Ray Scruggs of Crawfordsville has begun a systematic plotting of collection sites. With the aid of his computer he hopes to draw interesting conclusions from the data gathered on the sites. He would welcome data gathered by other collectors in the county.

For many people, collecting artifacts is more than just a casual hobby. The following piece was written for us by Gerald Walters. It demonstrates the fact that artifacts from several cultures are often located on the same site and also shows that discovering the past can be a thrilling experience.

## A PALEO FIND IN 1983

While surface hunting the fields along a small creek with a friend, I came upon a site. The ground was littered with flint chips and burned rocks. I picked up two points in a very short time. They were a late Woodland type, which dated the site back many hundreds of years.

There were many scrapers, milling stones, and flake knives which were difficult to identify. I picked up two broken turkey-tails, a blade about 4 1/2 inches long (probably a knife), and many beveled edge points--all definitely Archaic. Two full grove axes and a celt were found. The site could now be dated back over 5,000 years.

Then I saw it. Sticking out of the ground was just the tip of a point. I reached down to gently pull it out. It came--almost 3 inches long and very thin. A Lancelot!

This point dates back to the Paleo era, perhaps 8,000-10,000 years. Why was it there? Was I the first person to pick it up in 10,000 years? Was it used to hunt some now extinct animal that once roamed Montgomery County, or had it been picked up and carried as a good luck piece by someone from a later culture, only to be lost again?

These questions can never be answered, but the excitement which I experienced when I found this point will never leave me.[14]

## Rules for Collecting Indian Artifacts

1. Always obtain permission before entering another person's property.
2. Collect only surface objects--don't dig.
3. Label each object with section, range, and township.
4. If you find a location which you feel is special in some manner, contact Dr. James Kellar at the Glenn A. Black Laboratory in Bloomington or Dr. Robert Pace at Indians State University in Terre Haute BEFORE you remove any objects.
5. If you are a collector and have not as yet filled out a survey form, please pick one up, fill it out, and return it to the Crawfordsville District Public Library.

Mounds and Ancient Graves

Indian mounds seem to have an alluring fascination for most people. They are surrounded with mystery. The questions always arise, "Who built them?" "When?" "For what purpose?" Over the years there have been many different theories proposed to answer these questions, but it was not until the advent of carbon dating that modern scientific methodology began providing solid answers to them. It would be presumptuous of us to claim to be able to cover the subject in its entirety here. However, we can present the writings of our local historians which record findings of and speculations about the mounds in Montgomery County, and we can see how the evidence presented therein is interpreted by modern scholars.

First let us define "mound." According to the dictionary a mound can be:

1) an elevation formed of earth, sand, stones, etc., especially over a grave or ruins, or,
2) a tumulus or other raised work of earth [constructed by human hands] dating from a prehistoric or long-past period, or
3) a natural elevation of earth; a hillock or knoll.[15]

And who were the Mound Builders? Very briefly, the term "Mound Builders" refers to many different Indian peoples who constructed earthen mounds in eastern and central North America from about 1,000 B.C. to after A.D. 1500. The mounds and earthworks which they produced are usually classified into three main categories: burial mounds; platform or temple mounds; and circular and geometric ceremonial earthworks. The mound-building cultures are usually divided into two major traditions: Woodland and Mississippian. The terms "Adena" and "Hopewell" refer to sub-groups of the Woodland tradition.[16]

The "Great Mound" in Mounds State Park near Anderson, Indiana, is thought to have been constructed during a transition period from the Adena to the Hopewell culture, dating from around 10-50 A.D. The mounds preserved in Angel Mounds State Memorial near Evansville belonged to the Mississippian culture. They are dated from 1300 to 1500 A.D.

Two local historians have recently written articles on the subject: Jim Leas and Phyllis Boone. Only relevant excerpts from Mr. Leas' article have been included here but the entire article can be found in Montgomery . . . Your County Magazine, September, 1976. Mrs. Boone's article is given in

full. It was written specifically for inclusion in this book and draws upon material she has gathered in preparation for her own forthcoming history of New Richmond, Indiana.

Dr. James Kellar and Dr. Jack Waddell, the latter from the Department of Anthropology of Purdue, evaluated the information presented in these writings. Some of their comments have been added in the texts and others have been placed following the articles but a cautionary one must be noted here.

They both said that the various accounts recorded by Leas and Boone present interesting summaries of the folklore of Indian mounds. The newspaper stories and other items show the prevalent interest and widespread fascination with the subject which existed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, the reader is cautioned to accept the explanations about the mounds and graves recorded in the following accounts as expressing theories from the times in which the discoveries were made--not as modern scientific facts.

Now for the writings of our local historians. First, from the article by Jim Leas.

INDIAN MOUNDS LOCATED IN SHANNONDALE AREA

When Montgomery County historians have written of the Indians . . . Franklin township hasn't been overlooked.

Probably the chief reason for not omitting that area has been the presence of two mounds in the vicinity of Shannondale. They were designated as mounds on a map of the county appearing in the 1878 county atlas. One's in Sec. 23 northwest of Shannondale, the other in Sec. 34 west of the village. . . .

Those who travel out north and west of Shannondale can see the high, rounded, tree covered hill just back and west of a farm home at the junction of 225N and 950E. It looks the part--like a huge mound. . . . The mound in Sec. 34 is invisible because it's in the middle of a patch of thick timber about a quarter of a mile north of the state highway. It is by no means as large as the mound northeast of it, but this elevation used to be a good deal taller and wider than it is now. . . .

There seems to be no record, locally at least, of

anything like a systematic archaeological examination of either map-designated mound site in Franklin township. . .

Writing about the township in the 1950's, Theodore Gronert said it "attracted the interest of archaeologists because within its borders Indian mounds and burial grounds have afforded opportunity for the collection of weapons and other artifacts. . . ."[17]

One of Franklin township's two mounds long ago yielded skeletal remains and artifacts. Mr. and Mrs. Jesse Caster, living just south of Indiana 32 and across the highway from the lane leading north to the woods-hidden mound in Sec. 34 have had the land for years. It has been in the Caster family for a century and land adjacent to it for much longer than that.

Caster, whose ancestors settled near Muskrat Creek at the beginning of the 1830s, remembered being told of an old neighbor seeing Indians camping overnight on the mound at a time when most of the red men had gone on West. Caster said the elevation probably was 10 to 14 feet higher back then but that digging for gravel years later had removed a large portion of its top and west side.

He said skeletal bones and artifacts had been found during the digging, but that to his knowledge none had been collected and saved for any study. . . .

There's no word that Indian artifacts or bones were collected from gravel diggings at the Sec. 23 mound site. But there's small doubt the Indians knew about the place. There were too many of them in this area, and this mound was too huge.[18]

In his comments on the above article Dr. Kellar remarked that "the very fact that the mound was composed of gravel suggests that it was natural and not constructed by man. Also, the implication that it was of a particularly large size suggests the same."[19]

Phyllis Boone begins her article with the familiar mounds in Franklin Township and then proceeds to give us further information of a rather surprising nature.

Beckwith, in his History of Montgomery County, Indiana, touched very lightly on the subject of mound builders by mentioning two mounds in Franklin Township.[20] Then, in his coverage of Madison Township he said this:

> Among the curiosities of the township is the situation of four knolls, or mounds, in such a way as to form a diamond. These each are about forty feet in height and the figure is longest from southeast to northwest. These mounds contain a superior quality of gravel for road building.[21]

The peculiarity of the four mounds in the diamond shape was noted by Collett in his geological report of 1875. It is tempting for us to speculate on the possibility that these mounds were placed in this formation by human hands, but unfortunately we have no proof that this was the case, and are not likely to ever know for sure--from the last sentence in the Beckwith quotation readers can guess what happened to parts, maybe even all, of these ancient mounds.

But the destruction of these particular mounds does not leave us devoid of interesting information about mounds in Montgomery County. Research in the local newspapers has revealed information about other mounds which would have made Beckwith and Collett sit up and take notice.

In the year 1892 workmen were digging in a gravel pit near the Yountsville pike, about two miles west of Crawfordsville, on the farm of George Britton. They found to their amazement about "a dozen skeletons lying side by side."[22] Before they were stopped from exhuming these bodies they had unearthed about thirty of them. Many of the skeletons were carried off by relic hunters, and there is no record as to where they were taken. No stone axes, pipes or arrowheads were unearthed with these bodies, so it remains a mystery as to what race or nation these remains belonged. The newspaper article stated that some people thought they belonged to the Indians who roamed over this area in the early part of the century. Others thought they belonged to some early explorers who may have had their camp or village there. Another theory was that these remains were those of the Mound Builders, or ancient Aztecs, who were thought to have inhabited this country centuries ago. [Dr. Kellar says that the theory about the Mound Builders having been ancient Aztecs was very popular in the late 1800s, and even into the 1900s, but it is

now considered to be unfounded.[23]]

In this same newspaper article it was reported that on a farm a half mile north of the gravel pit where the mass burial was found, and on the south side of Sugar Creek, there was a structure of earth about 80 feet long, 20 feet or more in height. This was considered to be the work of Mound Builders. The writer of the newspaper article said, ". . . all persons who have visited it pronounce it such.[24] Perhaps this earth work and the burying ground on the Britton farm were used by the same people. Perhaps in an early period a town or village was located in that vicinity.

In this same period of time, 1894, a large skeleton was found by Jack Gray in another gravel pit on the Davis farm. It measured seven feet in length. An earthen vessel containing remains of a turtle and bones of a coon was exhumed with the skeleton.[25]

Nearly two years later, again in a gravel pit, the remains of a "giant Indian buck" together with his implements of warfare were exhumed on the farm of D. A. Myers in Walnut township. There was evidence pointing to the conclusion that this too was an Indian graveyard.[26]

The area surrounding New Richmond has provided collectors of Indian relics with many artifacts and evidence of very early inhabitants of some unknown race.

In May, 1890, Thomas Shepherd, living three miles northwest of New Richmond, discovered an ancient burying ground on his farm. Among his discoveries was a whole skeleton. Many other bones were unearthed by heavy rains. A well preserved pipe was also found at this site. There were places where holes had been dug in the ground and the earth carried to the top of the hill. Tom had never suspected the mound was a burying place before he made these discoveries, but he said he had noticed that the hill did have the appearance of having been "made with hands."[27]

I, Phyllis Boone, have been a resident of New Richmond for over fifty years. I attended the local school, and have associated with many residents who were natives of New Richmond and of Coal Creek Township when the town was in its infancy. Never have I heard a word about the area being in the center of the Mound Builders. Thus my eyes were opened wide to some new historical thrills when I read the following

headline in the Crawfordsville Journal, Monday, October 19, 1903:

> "THE MOUND BUILDERS, Evidences of One of Their Ancient Villages in This County--Collections of Axes, Arrow Heads, and Utensils Superior to Any in the World Found on Junis H. Allen's Farm."

The same article was run in the New Richmond Record on Thursday, October 22, 1903. It did not reveal the exact location of the find, but I knew that Junis Allen was a farmer residing in Coal Creek Township, about three miles south of New Richmond and about one mile west of Patton's Corner. The axes, celts, ceremonial stones, arrowheads, and other utensils had been collected over the years by J. Lee Allen and Winton Utterback. During each planting season and at almost every turn of the spade another item was found.

In the center of the farm was a small hill which the Allens thought was just a natural rise in the otherwise prairie land. They did not open the mound to any great extent, but once found an ax of considerable size. This was supposed to have been used for hewing out trees since it was much too large and unwieldy for war uses. It was an almost perfect specimen and remarkably well preserved. Another item which they found was described as being a "ceremonial stone." It was a smooth piece of stone resembling a double-bladed ax, with two grooves cut in the blades. The newspaper article described it as looking like a petrified vertebra of some monster fish. This was the item about which the Indiana State Geologist, Mr. Blatchley, was most thrilled. He said he believed the specimen to be the finest of its kind in the world.[28] Without the item in hand we cannot give it a definite identification, but from the description there is little doubt that today this would be classified as a bannerstone. (See Fig. 3 and 5)

Another object which was found was a piece of slate with two tapering holes of different diameters running through it. This was believed to have been used for making deerskin thongs into bow-strings. [Kellar says this was probably a slate gorget which was used as a personal adornment, not a tool.] (See Fig. 7)

The celts were chisel-like articles made of granite. It used to be thought that they were used for scraping the pelts of animals. Today scientists believe they were used for

woodworking, as were tomahawks.[29]

Almost every known kind and size of point and arrowhead was included in the collection. All were remarkably well preserved.

In the center of the Allen farm there was also a small pond which the geologist believed to have been a large artificial lake which the ancient tribe might have used as a place of worship. The geologist planned to obtain permission from Allen to open the mound, as he was confident that many articles of value to archaeologists would be discovered, and perhaps the remains of an ancient people might be uncovered and further studied.

The items taken from the Allen farm were labeled and placed in the collection in the Old State House Museum, or at least that is what the newspaper article reported. An unsuccessful effort was made to locate this collection in 1984. Thus we are left with only the knowledge that at the time of discovery, in 1903, the Junis Allen farm in Coal Creek Township was believed to have been the site of a prehistoric village.

A year after the first finds, a man who chose to remain anonymous was hunting along Coal Creek for a stray duck or two, and after following the meandering stream for several miles, came to a place where the recent high waters had washed a new channel near the base of one of the mounds out on the prairie. An odd-looking stone attracted his attention, and jumping down the bank, he found that it was a monster double-bladed stone ax. It fit the same description as the ax found the previous year. It was considered to be a perfect specimen, well preserved. Because of its huge size it also was thought to have been used for hewing trees. This last ax weighed nearly thirty pounds.

Becoming excited about his find, the young man made a closer search of the area and was rewarded with the discovery of another item related to the previous year's find, a stone which looked like the vertebra of some monster fish. Again it was thought that these were ceremonial stones used by the ancient race in conducting rites of human sacrifice. [Kellar says that this was pure supposition and probably not true.]

The last discovery of the hunter, but not the least in importance, was a mask. The location of this discovery was

supposed to have been the place of worship for the Mound Builders, or an altar of sacrifice. Archaeologists of the time speculated that it had been customary to make death masks of the chiefs and their wives. If the chief died in battle, the masks were placed in a sepulchre, but if they died by sacrifice, the masks were buried with them. [Kellar: Again, pure supposition.] The mask was in perfect condition, but it was not possible to tell whether it was of a man or woman. It was perfect in point of execution and artistic merit, proving the state of high civilization of this ancient tribe.[30]

When I discovered the article about the mask, the only way to express myself was with a Comanche (or Shawnee) war whoop. I couldn't read the article quickly enough, but it was like opening an empty stocking on Christmas morning. How very disappointing it was to find that the man revealed neither his name nor where he started his meandering along Coal Creek. But the most disappointing part of the story was that he intended to sell his most valuable artifacts to a firm in New York, hoping to receive at least $500 for them. The farm on which he made his discoveries belonged to someone else who he said would claim the money if he revealed the location. Another valuable piece of Coal Creek Township history gone for the love of the almighty dollar, to God only knows where!

One summer day in 1964, about a mile out on road 1100 North northeast of New Richmond, a family by the name of Mahan had started to excavate some of their ground in order to fill some holes around the area of their house. They soon found they were digging up something besides soil.

They first discovered a few assorted bones, then a jaw bone, and then they realized they had found some human skeletons. Using a hoe they carefully dug around the spot and soon uncovered a skeleton intact from the pelvis up. Another place revealed parts of a human skeleton containing the finger bones, jaw bone, and skull, which was intact. The teeth consisted of the whole set. They were worn down, possibly due to the constant wear caused by chewing the food that usually consisted of roots, plants, and probably uncooked meats and fish. One skeleton was believed to be that of a woman whose teeth were badly worn, perhaps from chewing on animal hides, a practice used to soften the hides to make clothing for the family.

The Mahan home is located on the very top of a high ridge

that runs east and west parallel to road 1100 North. It is possible that the road is built right on the burying ground because it too is situated on part of the hill.

When the bones were discovered, the family contacted the county sheriff, Mr. Demoret. He and a member of the State Police Post came to investigate the finds. The larger portions of the skeletons, the jaw bones, and skulls were sent to Indiana University to be studied by anthropologists--and that is the last the people of New Richmond and Coal Creek Township ever heard of them.[31]

South on road 250 West, east of the road about one mile south of New Richmond, is another very high mound. I suspect it could be the work of human hands, although to date I have not read any records of skeletons or artifacts having been found there. However, this writer has been accused of calling even the smallest, or the largest molehill a "mound," for I don't rule out the possibility that even Bristle Ridge may contain something more than the bristles of wild hogs beneath its surface. It is in the vicinity of the 1903 and 1904 artifact discoveries and it is unlike any of the surrounding geological features. Perhaps the Ridge was the site of an ancient settlement.

Two former residents of the Ridge, Reuben Swank and Bill Lane, remember playing on a very large boulder when they were children. They said the head of an Indian chief was carved on the rock and that it was covered with hieroglyphics. The two men have searched the area where they thought it was located. Assuming that it may have been buried by soil being washed over it, or pushed over it by a bull-dozer, they have probed the area with metal rods, but have not found it.

Another interesting stone which was located in our area is told about by Wingate resident Blanche Hamm. Her grandfather remembered a large stone with a deep hole in the center and many smaller holes around it. He said he thought the Indians put their food in the large center hole, and sat around it using the smaller holes as their individual serving "plates." Blanche thinks that this rock was probably hauled away to be used as land fill.[32]

In general, the early settlers collected many, many arrowheads and other artifacts. Besides arrowheads, the late Gaylord Tribby found on his farm an artifact in the shape of a crescent moon. Another collector, Ewing Mason, explained

that he had heard that the ancient Indians used this type of stone in their fertility ceremonies. Again, without the artifact in hand it is not possible to give a modern identification of this stone, but today some crescent shaped stones are classed as bannerstones. (See Fig. 5) Gaylord also found many pieces of broken flint not native to the Coal Creek area, and a large axe or hatchet.

In 1899 there were reports of articles such as Indian axes being found near school No. 13, and in the same year Jim Mahan found a pipe in a gravel pit. It was supposed to have belonged to "some old Indian chief."

Just across the Montgomery County line in Tippecanoe County there is a large mound which the early white settlers named Shawnee Mound. These Shawnee were not prehistoric Indians, but rather a tribe of Indians who had a large village located just west of the mound when the settlers arrived. They used the mound as a lookout hill. The mound does, or did, contain Indian skeletons, for in 1905, as gravel was being taken from the mound for road purposes, many skeltons were taken up. They had been buried close together and were the bones of very large men. Two years before, near the Shawnee Mound, while the cellar of Jim Francis' house was being excavated, two other skeletons were found. There is no way of knowing the age of the burials.

Collectors, road builders, even scientists have hauled off the evidence which once existed to places unknown. It is sad to think that the culture and history of these mysterious people may be lost to us forever.[33]

Phyllis Boone, New Richmond, 1984

Comments about the Articles

When I first read the manuscript for Mrs. Boone's article I became very excited. Here, in the newspaper accounts which she had found, was long forgotten information about the prehistory of our county. Being a complete novice I thought they contained information which would surely send modern archaeologists flocking to Montgomery County to examine the remains of the sites. But the question had to be asked, just how would modern scholars interpret this information?

As was stated above, I submitted the articles to an archaeologist, Dr. James Kellar, and an anthropologist, Dr. Jack Waddell. They agreed that the information presented in

the articles was indeed interesting, but not, alas, as scientific data. Dr. Kellar wrote to me:

> . . . the sources upon which you must depend do not tell us much about the prehistory of the area. However, they are most interesting in that they document the quest for explanations when no reasonable answers were yet available.[34]

Oh dear. How disappointing!

Dr. Waddell explained that although interest in the Mound Builders' culture dated back before the American Revolution--artifacts which are now identified as Hopewell were reported as early as 1799--it was not until the late 19th century that scientific efforts were made to help solve the puzzles of the Mound Builders. In 1890-1903, the period of the Montgomery County finds reported in Mrs. Boone's article, only a very few scientists were knowledgeable about systematic means of studying the prehistory of North America.[35]

It is to the credit of Junis Allen that he thought to call in the State Geologist, William Blatchley. But as was stated in Mrs. Boone's article, Blatchley's knowledge fell short of being able to identify properly many of the objects, such as the bannerstones. The original newspaper article said that Blatchley intended to study the artifacts further. Even though the archaeological theories of his day were inadequate compared with today's theories, it would nevertheless be interesting for us to read any report which Blatchley might have made. He would surely have included a more complete description of the items in the find. Unfortunately, if he ever wrote such a report he failed to leave it in an obvious place, for neither the State Library nor the State Department of Geology has been able to locate it.

Drs. Waddell and Kellar also commented that without having the artifacts in hand, and without documentation on their original sites, it is impossible for firm opinions to be given about the origins of or cultures involved with these discoveries.

But, to put the problem of lost artifacts into perspective, Dr. Waddell said we should remember this: Although we are frustrated by the lack of scientific examination of the ancient materials and the exportation of the artifacts, it is possible that back in the 1890s the people of Montgomery

County did not know they were destroying valuable evidence.

Now, just because the newspaper accounts do not provide us with hard scientific data does that mean that they are meaningless to us? I think not. It seems indisputable from the findings of the local historians that mounds which were used as graves were located in the Montgomery County area. The questions which remain are, 1) Were the local mounds made by human hands? and 2) To what culture(s) might the graves have belonged? We need to look for our answeres in places other than the newspapers.

## Were the Mounds Man-Made?

In his geological report of 1875, Dr. John Collett assumed the mounds of Franklin, Madison, and Ripley Townships to be of natural formation--glacial deposits. Interestingly, he felt that this in itself told something about the prehistoric people of the time. He theorized:

> The general absence of earth-works [i.e., man-made mounds] in a productive region like this county is significant. It indicates that the social instincts of the Mound Builders located their permanent towns and villages only on streams susceptible of navigation by canoes, etc. and allows the presumption that in this remote period the shute at the canyon-like "Narrows of Sugar Creek" was an obstacle too dangerous for this quiet and peaceful race to brave.[36]

This is an interesting theory which would have been disputed by Archer Butler Hulbert. In his Paths of the Mound-Building Indians and Great Game Animals (1902) Hulbert theorized that the Mound Builders tended to travel primarily by land, not by water. According to his theory the "Narrows" would not have been significant. Actually, he would have said that since Sugar Creek was a small river it would have made a target location for a settlement, for he thought that the Mound Builders tended to settle on small rivers.[37]

Fortunately, modern scientific techniques provide better ways of theorizing about the nature of the mounds than Collett and Hulbert had at their disposal. In 1984, two scientists, Dr. Robert Pace, Director of Indiana State University's Anthropology Laboratory, and Dr. Darrell Norton, Assistant Professor of Agronomy at Purdue, have taken notice of the mound areas in eastern Fountain and western Montgomery

Counties.

Dr. Pace has been actively involved in the study of the prehistory of this general area of Indiana for many years. Whenever some construction project is proposed (a school, a bridge, etc.) for which government funds will be used, it is required by law that an archaeological assessment study of the site be made before construction is approved. Dr. Pace is the one who conducts these studies. He is very familiar with the whole west central Indiana area.

According to Pace three different shapes of mounds are found in Montgomery County. They are the "non-imposing sites, which are but a few feet high; mounds arranged in a group on a bluff or hillside; or the larger single mounds that at first appear to be small hills."[38] It is his general opinion that it is highly unlikely that any of the mounds in this county are man-made. If there are (or were) any they would most probably be found on the banks of Sugar Creek, not on the prairie lands of Wayne and Sugar Creek Townships. This would fit in with the pattern of the man-made mounds found in Vermillion County.[39]

Darrell Norton has had experience identifying mounds along the Wabash River near Lafayette. He says that the only way to prove whether or not a mound was made by an Indian civilization without destroying the mound itself is by testing core soil samples from each mound in question. The samples are subjected to an acid chemical test to see if there have been changes in the soil.[40]

Of the mounds in Montgomery County which Norton has already tested he said there was no evidence of disturbed soil, therefore the conclusion would be that they were not man-made.[41]

On the subject of man-made vs natural burial mounds, Dr. Kellar has written this:

> Actually, of the 12,000 or more years of occupancy in the upper Wabash, burial mounds were probably constructed for no more than a very few centuries. [from 700 B.C. to A.D. 400[44] Most [of] the situations encountered in the field probably have no relationship to this relatively brief interval. And probably most of the mounds are not artificially constructed eminences constructed by human groups, but represent natural features resulting from

glacial activity and other geological considerations. Artifacts are often found on these, because they provided well-drained elevations upon which encampments and more permanent settlements were made.[42]

As Norton commented, the Indians were not stupid. Why should they go to all the work to build a mound when they had so many already built for them by nature? However, he has agreed to return to Montgomery County in the spring of 1985 to test some of the mounds in the New Richmond area.[43]

To What Cultures Might the Graves Have Belonged?

From the artifacts survey we know that there was human habitation of this area for many more than just "a very few centuries." Even today points are being found which may date as far back as 10,000 B.C.

From the Montgomery County Survey we know that there were hunters in the area during the Late Paleo and Early Archaic periods: 70 points were recorded from these periods. Dr. Pace has provided us with further information showing that other evidence exists proving the presence of early peoples in Montgomery County during the Early Archaic period.

He said that there are sites in the Franklin Township-Boone County area which were undoubtedly workshops for the Indians. At these sites there are outcrops of a stone known as Attica chert. Findings indicate that some areas were workshops where the chert was simply "roughed out" into crude pieces of stone. These pieces were then transported to other areas, probably as trade items. Other sites indicate workshops where finished points and other tools were made.

Outcrops of Attica chert occur not only in eastern Montgomery and western Boone Counties but also in Fountain County and in Illinois. Therefore, when artifacts made from Attica chert are found it is difficult to know with certainty from which area they came. Items made from this stone have been traced along the Wabash valley and throughout an area approximately 100 miles in radius from the outcrops. It is Dr. Pace's opinion that these workshop sites are potentially more informative than the mound graves. More study needs to be made of them.[44]

From the Late Archaic period the Montgomery County survey showed 17 grooved axes and 37 points. To learn something

about this period which we can relate to our county we again turn to the scholarship of Dr. Kellar. In a paper presented at a symposium at Wabash College he stated:

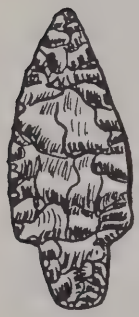
> Most of our knowledge of the northern Archaic derives from accidentally discovered cemeteries, and the artifacts and other materials associated with the human remains have led to the conclusion that an incipient burial ceremonialism is present. These cemeteries, unmarked by any surface evidence, are generally found in low sand or gravel ridges formed by glacial outwash. Following the geological nomenclature for such features, the culture is referred to as Glacial Kame. Round pits were excavated into these natural features and one or more flexed human burials were placed therein. Materials sometimes associated include copper and shell beads, bone awls, circular and "sandal sole-shaped" gorgets cut from large marine shells, and objects made from slate that resemble stylized birds in profile, hence the name "birdstone." Red ocher (iron oxide) was powdered and substantial quantities are often encountered in the graves. Glacial Kame-like artifacts, some associated with burials, have been recovered over much of northeastern Indiana and southward into Shelby County.
>
> It is possible that yet another Archaic complex, Red Ocher, is present in northwestern Indiana. It, too, is best known in its burial manifestations. Included among the artifacts in the complex are bi-pointed flint blades that are side-notched near one of the ends. These are commonly named "turkey-tail" points and have been found individually and in caches in the state.[45]

B. K. Swartz, Jr., Professor of Anthropology at Ball State University, has gathered together various theories on the prehistory of Indiana in his booklet, Indiana's Prehistoric Past. He says that some scholars classify the Glacial Kame and Red Ocher cultures in an "Intermediate" stage, dating from 800 B.C. to A.D. 1500. The quotations from his book given below contain some very technical archaeological terms which may well be beyond the knowledge of most readers. They have been included for the benefit of serious collectors. It is hoped that general readers can pick out enough information to be able to relate these passages to the local evidence which follows. Swartz describes the cultures in the following passages which are related to artifacts shown in Fig. 13.

Glacial Kame
Stemmed Point

Fulton Bi-Convex
"Turkey-Tail" Point

Pomranky
Ovate-Trianguloid
Knife



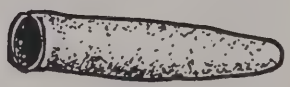
Adena
Ovate-Stemmed
Point

Buck Creek
Point

Kramer
Point

Sandal Sole-Shaped
Shell Gorget

Birdstone



Tubular Pipe

Fig. 13. Typical Intermediate Stage Artifacts
(B.K. Swartz, Jr., Indiana's Prehistoric Past,
Ball State University, 1981)

Glacial Kame

This is a pre-pottery tradition. Burials are deeply inhumed in kames--that is, glacial till knolls ("natural mounds")--often flexed and in circular pits, associated with ornaments rather than tools. Common artifacts are square-stemmed and square-shouldered points (Fig. 13a), sandal sole-shaped shell gorgets (Fig. 13g), tubular pipes similar to preceding Archaic forms (Fig. 13i), and birdstones of polished banded slate (Fig. 13h).

Red Ocher

Distinctive traits are liberal use of red ocher on burials disposed of in shallow pits located on natural rises; large, unutilized lanceolate, bipointed, "turkey-tail"-based Fulton points (Fig. 13b) manufactured from blue-gray Harrison County (Indiana) chert; and caches of ovate-trianguloid utilized Red Ocher "points" or Pomranky knives (Fig. 13c) manufactured from often fossiliferous cream-white to light gray chert. In late Red Ocher fabric impressed Marion Thick pottery and laterally ground, long straight-stemmed Kramer points (Fig. 13f) manufactured from the same material as Pomranky points appear.[46]

Can this information be related to artifacts from our county? Consider the following from Collett's geological report on Montgomery County:

> In the cabinets of Rev. F. M. Symmes and Dr. T. C. Brown were seen grooved stone axes with handle guards in relief, flint arrow and spear points and knives, gorgets, shuttles, pendants (plumb-bobs), spinerets, pipes, pestles, chisels, awls, five duck "totems" and one seal or Mantus "totem."[47]

Now, if the duck totems were indeed birdstones, then this list of artifacts matches remarkably well with the list of items associated with the Glacial Kame and Red Ocher graves. Further, the 1984 survey showed a count of three turkey-tail blades. I suspect that if more collectors had participated in the survey we would have a higher number that this.

Two other pieces of local information which may be relevant to this culture were recorded by W. L. Anderson from his interviews with the old settlers:

> Quite a number of sunken graves were to be seen at this place many years afterward. . . . The graves were found

to be only about eighteen inches deep.[48]

> Digging up Indians was regarded as quite a feat and many of their graves have been disturbed. Those who have engaged in this ghoulish work tell me that they never mistake the bones of a white man for that of an Indian since, as they say, the Indian's bones are red like his skin.[49]

Dr. Waddell explained that the reason the bones in some burials appeared to be red was that the red ocher which had been scattered on the bodies during the burial ceremony did not decompose with the bodies. It settled, penetrated the bones, and stained them red.[50]

Other important items from the Survey were 10 Riverton Points and 24 Matanzas points. These are diagnostic points for the Riverton Culture. The Riverton Culture is thought to have dated from the terminus of the Archaic period.

In 1976-7 Dr. Pace conducted an archaeological assessment of a tract of land proposed for a new consolidated high school in southern Parke County. He found there a specialized nut gathering camp. He identified it as being from the Riverton Culture, dated from 810 B.C. The report which he wrote on this site is most interesting and is recommended reading for anyone who wants to know more about this culture and for collectors who want to learn how a site should be studied. He gave the following description of the Riverton site:

> Nuts appear to have been gathered in large quantities, smashed, ground and boiled, the oil was easily transportable over a distance to be consumed at a later date.
>
> Recent information, from this site and others, suggest that Riverton Culture was in the process of shifting from an economy of generalized hunting and gathering to one of scheduled harvesting, with incipient horticulture being adopted at the larger and more permanent settlements.[51]

An interesting feature of this camp was that "minimal evidence of hunting, and no evidence of fishing or mullusk gathering was found." This fit a previously held theory that the Riverton people had the following general social system:

> . . . a "settlement" probably occupied by some at all times and others only during the winter; a "transient

camp" occupied during parts of the spring and fall, a "base camp" for the summer, and hunting and gathering camps as satellite to the others.[52]

No work has been done to try to relate the finds in Montgomery County to those in Parke, but it is interesting to speculate that the Indians might have had a hunting camp in the Montgomery County area which provided the food for the Indians in the gathering camp.

The latest period asked about on the Montgomery County Survey was the Middle Woodland period. Here approximately 250 artifacts were reported: 50 Adena points, 50 Adena cache blades, 29 Hopewell cache blades, 50 Lowe flared base points, 25 Snyders points, and 50 prismatic flint knives. But sometimes what was not found can be as interesting as what was found. I think that may be the case here. Consider the following:

> The Woodland tradition is basically defined by the presence of pottery containers with surfaces distinguished by cord impressions or other decorations applied using a flat paddle-like tool.[53]

That being the case why were only two fragments of pottery reported on the survey?

Possible explanations include the following: Pottery is often difficult to recognize in the field so perhaps it has just not been collected. Perhaps if there were to be some systematic and intensive surveys it will be recovered. 2) Perhaps all the surface pieces were already picked up by the early settlers and if we could find their collections we would find more pottery. However, 3) the fragile nature of pottery makes it easy prey for farmers' plows therefore it may be that it has been destroyed. Or, 4) perhaps the Indians who made pottery didn't really live here in the sense of this being their primary place of residence. Some writers have suggested that the pottery was too fragile to be carried on hunting expeditions thus the presence of shards on a site indicates that it was probably a permanent settlement.[54] If we reverse this reasoning we come up with the theory that the absence of pottery, when combined with evidence of other artifacts from the period, could indicate the presence of Indians in hunting parties but not in permanent settlements. So it's possible that some of the graves could have belonged to people from this culture who died while they were out

hunting.

The large number of scrapers, knives, and butchering stones reported in the survey also tends to substantiate the theory that the area was heavily used as hunting territory.

But there is still at least one other point which needs to be considered in our discussion of "To whom the Graves Might Have Belonged." It is known that the burial practices of later prehistoric cultures were based on the practices of the earlier cultures.[55] Therefore, some of the graves may simply be intrusive burials which were made by Indians at some later date.

A case in point; Dr. Waddell said that the mask mentioned in Phyllis Boone's article most likely dated from a much later culture than the finders thought, perhaps from a tribe of historic Indians, Huron or Iroquois.[56] (See Fig. 15) This could date the grave from as late as A. D. 1600-1750.

Therefore, after all this, what can we say? It seems as though as long as we cannot identify particular artifacts with regard to specific grave sites we will not be able to give positive identification to the mound graves. But from other evidence we can say that prehistoric people lived, hunted, and died here from as long ago as the Paleo period and, in particular, during the Late Archaic, Red Ocher, Riverton, and Woodland periods.

Finds in Lye and Black Creek Swamps

John Collett's report of 1875 contains a tantalizing piece of information:

> A lake, now known as Lye and Black-Creek swamps, succeeded [the glacier], originally six miles long and from one to three miles wide. . . . Although now drained and brought under cultivation, within the past fifty years it was covered with water. In opening ditches, drains, etc., many canoe paddles, spears and fishing implements have been found, proving that in modern times it [the swamp] was a constant body of water and a favorite resort for the Indian fisherman.[57]

Wouldn't we love to know more about those artifacts? Even though Collett said the lake existed in "modern" times, he also said it "succeeded" the glacier, which might imply that

it followed soon after the glacier receded. If we had even a piece of one of the paddles it could be dated by modern carbon dating techniques.

Unfortunately this and a similar statement in the 1878 Atlas are the only references to these finds which have been located. A search through the Crawfordsville newspapers has revealed nothing on the matter. Without more information no speculations on these finds can be made. The paddles and other items could have been used by people from almost any culture.

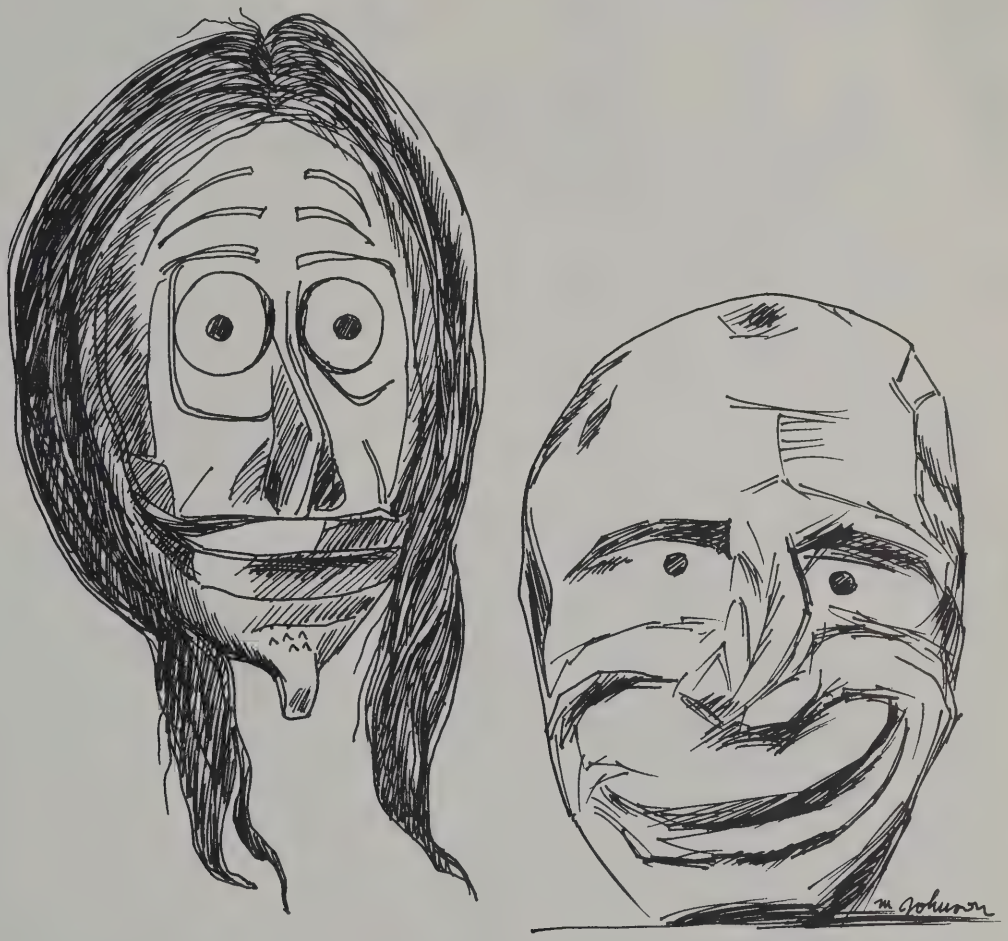



Fig. 14. Iroquois Masks
(Drawings by Mary Early Johnson)

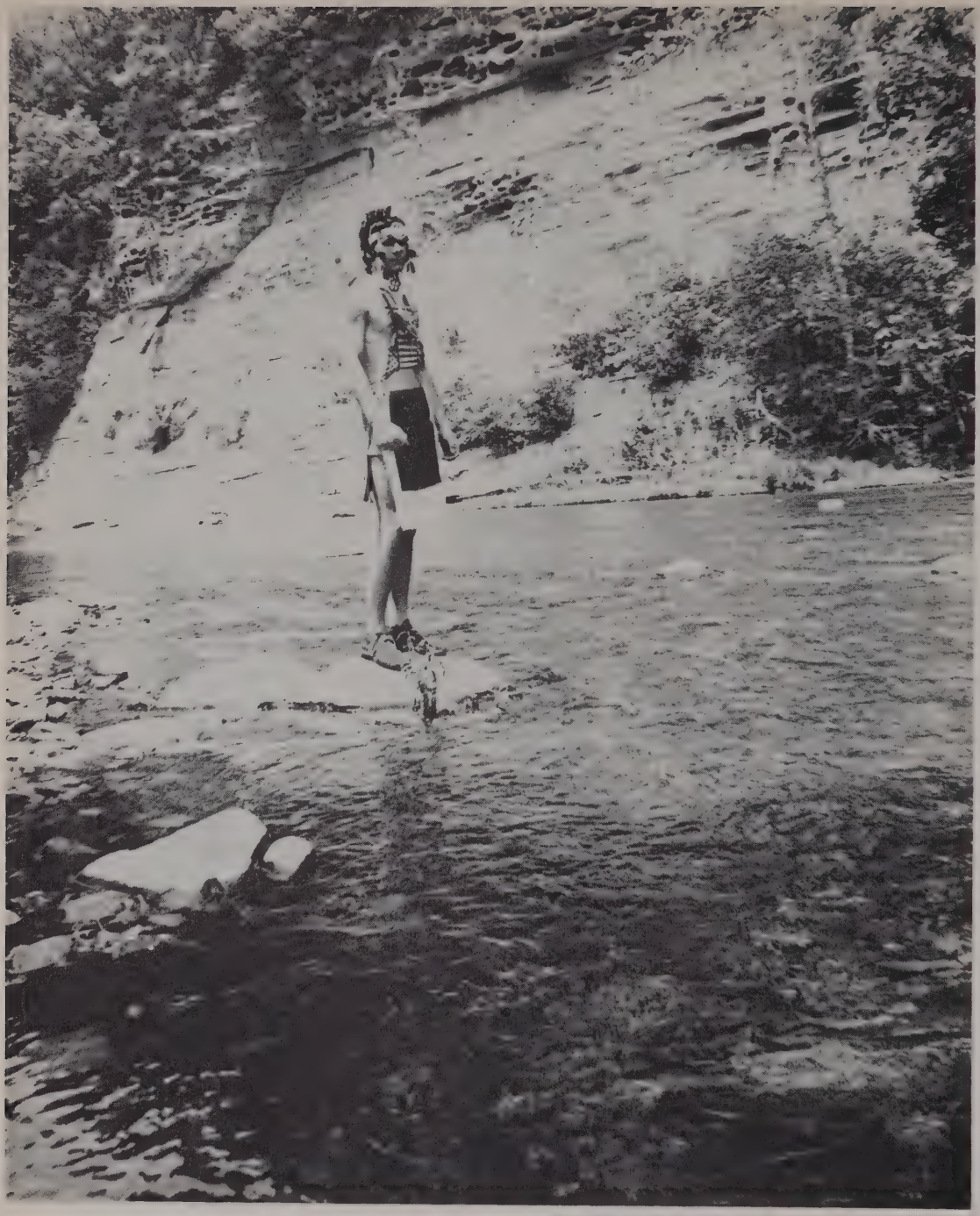


Fig. 15. Scene along Sugar Creek, with Mark Tully Dressed as a Woodland Indian. (Photograph by Joe Boswell, 1979)

## Chapter 3: The Historic Period

The historic period for the study of Indians of North America begins with the arrival of the European explorers and colonists. It was not until this time that written records were kept, for the early Indians had no written language. As the Indians moved West, forced from their lands in eastern North America by the advancement of the settlers, history was recorded in the reports, correspondence, and travel journals of the explorers, traders, trappers, soldiers, priests, and early settlers. The historic period of Indiana is generally dated from 1678, when the French explorer, Robert Cavalier de LaSalle, first came into this area.

### Legends

Legends are nonhistorical or unverifiable stories handed down by tradition from earlier times. They are popularly accepted as historical accounts of events which occurred when there were no people around who could record them in writing. The Indian legends connected with Montgomery County all involve the Shades of Death area, now known as Shades State Park.

LOVER'S LEAP

> Just above the stream, at one place, is a jagged, jutting rocky point, on which one finds himself directly above the water. It recalls one of the romantic legends of the first possessor of this soil. There was an Indian village not far away, so the story goes. In it dwelt a maiden who found her love for a brave unrequited. The object of her affection had turned his interest to another more fair. To this point came the maiden, desperate in her self pity. On a spring morning when all about her was joyous with recurring life, she leaped from the rock to the swollen stream two hundred feet below, and was seen no more.[1]

Today, visitors to the park hike out to Lover's Leap to enjoy the beauty of the countryside. Most of them are unaware of the legend.

The stream into which the maiden allegedly leaped is now known as Sugar Creek but throughout the years it has been called by many different names. The following information came from a naturalist at the Shades State Park.

THE NAMING OF SUGAR CREEK

> When the Red man came to this region he named the stream which flows through the tract [Shades State Park] "Pungosecone." Its meaning is "Ashes at the head of a river." It is supposed to designate the location of a destroyed tribal village.[2]

The Piankeshaws and Kickapoos are said to have called the creek "Keankiksepe," but it was the Eel River Miamis who gave it the name which was picked up by the French traders and eventually became, in translation, our present-day name for the creek. The Eel River Miamis called the river "Sanamindji Sipiwi." "Sanamindji" meant "sugar maple" and "Sipiwi" meant "river." The French followed the same concept, calling the river Riviere d'Eraablieres, meaning "River of the Maple Groves." The English also gave it a descriptive name: "Rock (or Rocky) River." The pioneer settlers preferred to call it "Sugar Tree Creek," but, so the story goes, a careless map-maker omitted the "Tree," and thus the stream's name became "Sugar Creek."[3] An article on the early uses of the name "Sugar Creek" appeared in the Crawfordsville Journal on January 14, 1924.[4]

A colorful and spectacular Indian legend was found several years ago by Bob Stwalley of Crawfordsville. It concerns an Indian battle which Stwalley, Remley Herr, and Jim Leas thought might have taken place in Montgomery County. According to the account Stwalley found, the original story was told by an Indian named Shick Shack to an historian named Armstrong. Armstrong published the story in an Illinois newspaper in 1873. His writings were found by Eaton G. Osman, and Osman published the story in a book which he wrote in 1924.[5] It was in this 1924 book that Stwalley found the legend. Two renditions of it have been published in Montgomery . . . Your County Magazine, one by Remley Herr and the other by Jim Leas. The following is excerpted from Leas' version of the tale.

THE BATTLE AT THE SHADES

> There's a legend (red men told about it and white men who listened wrote what they heard) that in 1775, late in the year before the Declaration of Independence, an event took place in "a heavy timber about twenty miles from the Wabash." It was a death struggle between two picked bands of Indians to settle once and for all who'd have control of the buffalo hunting grounds of the vast Illinois prairieland. . . .

[Five years earlier, in the spring of 1770] the . . . Potawatomies, Kickapoos, and Miamis got together on Indian Creek in LaSalle County [Illinois], north and east of Ottawa, to have a "jollification." [They were celebrating their 1769 defeat of the Illinois Indians at the Battle of Starved Rock.] . . . Weeks were spent . . . in "feasting, dancing, and merry-making" and "Big Indian Me" speeches by the warriors.

As it happened, the Miamis, better armed because some of them carried muskets, had grown to be a pretty "domineering and haughty" element at the festivities. Moreover, they outnumbered either of the two tribes with which they'd been allied against the Illinois.

When it came to the real business at hand, to divvy up the spoils--the vast buffalo-populated prairies of the northern two-thirds of present Illinois--the Miamis demanded just about all the land. The Kickapoos and Potawatomies wouldn't hold still for that. The talk became more and more heated. Then they fell to fighting right there on the grounds of the feast.

This long and inconclusive battle touched off a war with the Kickapoos and Potawatomies allied against the Miamis, that lasted through most of 1775. Their dead were "buried in many places throughout the coveted territory" once held by the Illinois.

So many warriors were killed off that at last, in 1775, their leaders began to see that to prolong this warfare might lead to precisely the same end as the previous war had meant for the Illinois--extinction.

. . . A proposition was then made on the part of the Miamis "to pick three hundred warriors from each side and let them commence to fight at sunrise and continue to fight until the one side or the other should conquer." The Potawatomies and Kickapoos had two conditions to impose before accepting.

One was that only traditional Indian weapons could be used--the bow and arrow, tomahawk, knife and spear--and no firearms. The Miamis had some muskets; the other two tribes had none.

The other condition was that the "remnant of each army"

should go over to the east side of the Wabash River so that no "illegal" aid could be supplied either of the picked fighting forces.

An agreement embracing these conditions was solemnized by leaders of the respective tribes. Then . . . "three hundred picked warriors were selected from each side, who crossed over [to] the bloody ground and encamped upon Sugar Creek, which empties into the Wabash River. The place selected for this terrible duel was a heavy timber about twenty miles from the Wabash. The battle was to commence at sunrise the following morning."

[The day was] . . . "a calm, cool, bright September morn." The battle "raged from sunrise to sunset."

They fought in a woods, all right. "Now shielding behind some giant oak--every ruse was resorted to in the hope of inducing the enemy to expose his person--now grappling in a death struggle, the combatants fell, never to rise again."

When it was over, there were a dozen warriors left. Five were Miamis, who fled the scene. Seven were Potawatomies and Kickapoos, whose side thus had become the victor. Shick Shack was among the surviving Potawatomies, and it was he . . . who must have been at least one of the Indians telling the story years afterward.

The Miamis gave up all claim to the buffalo-rich Illinois prairies, and the Kickapoos and Potawatomies soon divided the huge territory without indulging in another war. The former took control of all of it from the Wabash west to a line running north and south through Livingston County. The Potawatomies took over that part extending on west to the Mississippi.

In 1814, a treaty disposed of Indian control of all this prairieland south of a line running west from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, and by 1834 the Potawatomies and their kindred people were removed from Illinois to lands west of the Mississippi.

So much for the legend. The questions, the imponderables, remain.

Where was the battle of chosen warriors fought?

Armstrong, in telling of the "rules" laid down for it said, "the remnant of each army should cross to the east side of the Wabash." That's after the 600 were selected, presumably, and if all others went east of the Wabash, then wasn't the intention to put that river between them and the bands chosen to do the fighting? Wouldn't the battle then have been in timber west of the Wabash--in Illinois, not Indiana?

But Armstrong goes on to say the agreement was solemnly entered into "and three hundred picked warriors were selected from each side who crossed over to the bloody ground and encamped upon Sugar Creek. . . ." Who crossed over? The warriors who were picked to fight or the rest of their people? And what "bloody ground" on this (Indiana) side of the Wabash? Their five-year war had been fought in Illinois--in LaSalle County and near Peoria and all over "the coveted territory"--and not east of the Wabash. Or was the writer referring to the ground to which they crossed over as the bloody-ground-to-be because of the battle to be fought there?

Twenty miles upstream from the spot at which Sugar Creek flows into the Wabash would be the Shades area. Indiana had forest land in abundance then, and there could have been woods here and there amidst the prairies over in Illinois. On neither side could there have been any area more thickly wooded than the Shades.

There were a dozen survivors, and that would mean 588 warriors . . . fell among the trees and underbrush.

Although Armstrong's account tells of the belligerents burying their dead after some of the battles in Illinois, he does not mention any burial after this one. Buried or not, have skeletons and knives been found in any conspicuous numbers in or near the Shades area, or indeed anywhere else 20 miles from the Wabash? Could they be interred by two centuries' growth of sod much in the same way that fallen tombstones in long-neglected cemeteries eventually are covered over by the earth? . . .

In the Shades area, the ancient oaks could tell--might tell tremendously more than any of this, than anything we dream--but it's impossible to interview any of these forest monarchs. They won't say a word.[6]

## Early Encounters Between Whites and the Indians

In 1815 a surveying party is said to have worked in the southwestern section of what is now Montgomery County. They reported finding Indians in great numbers camped on the high bluffs above Sugar Creek and identified them as Shawnee and Piankeshaw.[7] If this information is correct, then this is the earliest record we have found where whites have written about their contact with the Indians in this area. We can visualize their meeting, for the camping site of the Indians is now part of the Shades State Park. The area that was the Indians' campground is encircled by Trail Number 1.

A second written account of contact dates from 1817. In that year, Thomas Dean, an Indian agent for the Brothertown Indians of New York, came here hoping to meet with leaders of the Indian tribes and to purchase land on which the Brothertown Indians could relocate. He had traveled by boat down the Ohio River and then up the Wabash River to Fort Harrison, which was located just north of present-day Terre Haute. From Fort Harrison he and his companions traveled by land. They followed a trail along Raccoon Creek, walking and on horseback. This trail went through present-day Montgomery County and on to what Dean called the "Wea village." A footnote in his journals identifies this village as present-day Thorntown. His entry for August 3, 1817, reads as follows:

> August 3d. In the morning we refreshed ourselves with some bread and water and started on our journey. . . . We followed our little path, crossed Raccoon Creek and its branches two or three times, and expected soon to come to the Wea village. About 12 o'clock we came to three or four bark cabins of the Weas, where our guide lived with his relations. None of them could speak English. They brought us about a quart of boiled corn, which we soon made way with. We tried to get a horse, but they made signs that we must stay there that night, for we could not get through [to] the village. I did not feel like traveling much farther on foot that day, and towards night one of the family who could speak some English arrived. He said we could have a horse to go through to the village next day for $2, and some one would go with us. They gave us some blackberries to eat and at night they sweetened some for us, and showed us some barks we could lay on in a cabin by ourselves. We lay on a kind of stage, with barks on, with our own blankets to cover. As near as we could tell we were about sixty miles from the fort.[8]

Measuring "about sixty miles" up Raccoon Creek from Fort Harrison could very easily place the homes of those Weas in southern Montgomery County, in today's Scott Township.

Dean and his party succeeded in reaching the White River but were not able to make the land agreement they wanted, so they went back to Fort Harrison. Thinking that the best way to get to Fort Wayne would be by water, they tried taking their boat up the Wabash. After many trials and tribulations, mainly due to the low level of the water, they decided they could not make it that way and returned to Fort Harrison. Once more they started off on foot along the Wea Trail. This time as they approached the Wea village Dean met with a now famous Montgomery County resident.

> September 11. This morning the Indians agreed to let us have one horse for $1, which I gave for the day. We put two packs on the horse and Thomas [Isaacs, a Brothertown Indian] rode in the forenoon and I in the afternoon. They took the other two packs, and we traveled hard through brush, winding hills, etc., and crossed some large streams and arrived at the head of Raccoon Creek near night and encamped close to the village. I paid 25 cents for venison and $1 to Peter Cornstalk for the use of his horse.[9]

The reader has met Peter Cornstalk before. His is a name familiar to almost everyone who knows anything at all about the Indians of Montgomery County.

Another very important person who left an account of his experiences with the Indians during this period was Isaac McCoy. McCoy was a Baptist missionary who settled in Parke County in 1818 and lived there until he moved his mission to Fort Wayne in 1820. He kept detailed diaries of his efforts to set up schools for the Indians and it is from these that his History of Baptist Indian Missions was written.

Many of McCoy's encounters with Indians in Indiana must have taken place in Montgomery County, judging by the distances and destinations he mentions. Here is one of his recorded accounts. It gives a not very pleasant, but undoubtedly accurate picture of the Indians' condition during this period of time.

> On the morning of the 28th of May [1819] I again left our affairs about the mission house in charge of Mrs.

McCoy, and with Wea John, set out for the Delaware towns [on the White River].

We travelled a very small path, and the day was rainy, so that we found travelling through the wet bushes somewhat unpleasant. We stopped a little before night to avail ourselves of a shelter in a bark hut, in a small village, to which the proprietors had not returned from their winter's hunt. John could scarcely speak any English, and I spoke less Indian; so that we could not be very communicative, notwithstanding we employed both head and hands to assist our tongues. He was quite sprightly in making a fire, but the preparation of the supper I took upon myself, as I could better relish my own cooking than his. . . .

May 29th. We had another day of rain, and consequently unpleasant travelling through wet bushes. About noon we halted, and endeavoured to make fire; but our spunk had become damp, and John, after trying a long time without success, in a fit of impatience threw away both spunk and flint, and left us destitute of the means of making fire. A few hours ride brought us to Eel town, (Wea), [Thorntown?] which I would willingly have passed without stopping, but we were under the necessity of seeking for the means of making fire; and before we could obtain these, we had called at many huts. The Indians were generally in a state of intoxication, as usually happens on their return to their villages in the spring.

In the first cluster of cabins we found several sick, having, as I supposed, contacted colds in their drinking scrape. A little further we met an acquaintance, Old Nettle, riding briskly. He was without clothes, with the usual exception of the small cloth about the waist. His face was painted black as high as the nose, with red about his eyes. His appearance was rendered still more hideous by a second coat of painting of mud, which he had involuntarily received. A little further we saw a great many drinking, and heard many more singing and howling in adjacent houses. Two young men came running to us in a style which indicated that they designed to have some sport by insulting us; but on coming up they recognized me, and behaved well. An intoxicated female approached, and begged for bread. We had none to spare; and if it had been otherwise, I should have been unwilling to have opened a bread sack there. Intoxicated Indians from all

quarters began to gather around us, and I was not sorry when John rode off briskly. I readily followed his example, and as we were leaving them they declared that they would kill us, and accompanied the threat by oaths in the English language.

About three-fourths of a mile further, at a trading house, a Frenchman gave us the means of making fire. . . In the early part of the day we had passed an encampment of Indians, at which was Stone-Eater, the principal chief of the Weas. He showed us some attention, but chiefly with the design, it would seem, of seizing the opportunity to beg a little bread for his wife and children. We gave out sparingly, because we could not replenish our stock of provisions, if once exhausted. Though he was chief of his tribe, he appeared as wretched as any. A few filthy blankets, pack-saddles, camp kettles, etc., constituted his moveables, while his live stock consisted of some horses, too many dogs, and not a few cats. We have no shelter to-night; have peeled a little bark to keep us off the damp earth, and have spent an hour and a half in drying our cloths.[10]

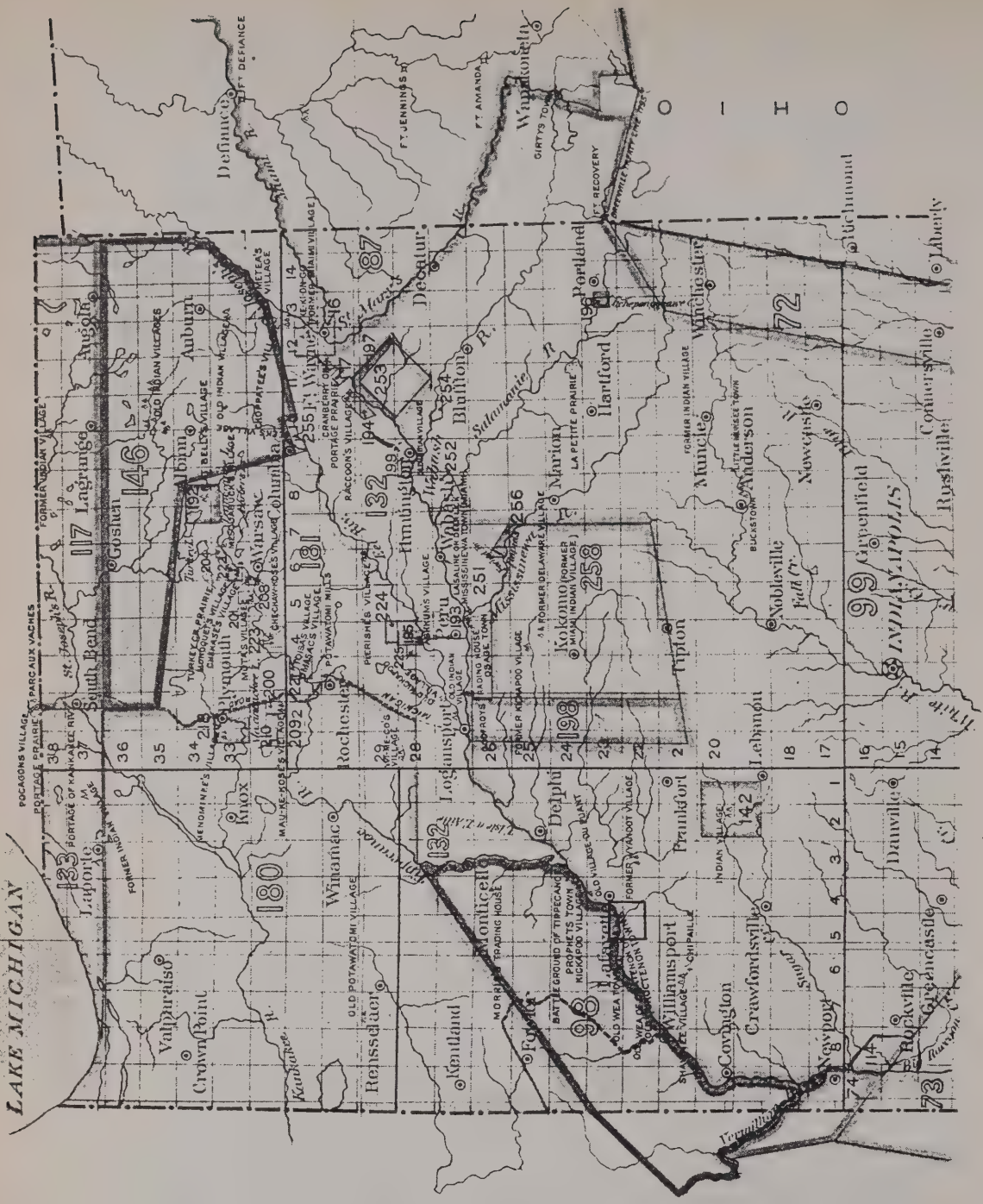
It was because of these conditions--the hunger, illness, and easy access to liquor that McCoy believed strongly in removing the Indians to a permanent, separate state west of the Mississippi. He felt that it was their only hope to avoid extinction. Many of the Indians agreed with this thinking and looked forward to a new life in the West, but many did not want to move. They wanted to retain their lands here in Indiana.

## Indian Reserves in Central Indiana

In September and October of 1818, at St. Mary's in Ohio, the Wyandottes, Potawatomis, Weas, Delawares, Miamis, and Eel River Miamis ceded their lands north of the 10 o'clock line to the United States government. The signing of this series of treaties opened central and northern Indiana for settlement by white pioneers. It was often referred to as "The New Purchase."

There were other treaties, both earlier and later, which affected this area, but none quite as important to our present study.[11] A discussion of them is not practical here.

In brief this was the situation after the 1818 Treaty of


LAKE MICHIGAN
INDIANAPOLIS
Logansport
Peru
Kokomo
Marion
Hartford
Muncie
Winchester
Richmond
Anderson
Noblesville
Tipton
Frankfort
Lafayette
Delphi
Monticello
Winamac
Knox
Rochester
Plymouth
Warsaw
Columbia
Auburn
Angola
Decatur
Bluffton
Huntington
Wabash
Portland
Greenfield
Rushville
Connersville
Crawfordsville
Williamsport
Covington
Danville
Rockville
Greencastle
Lebanon
Newport
Attica
Rensselaer
Crown Point
Valparaiso
Michigan City
La Porte
South Bend
Goshen
LaGrange
Delphi Trading House
Old Potawatomi Village
Old Indian Village
Former Indian Village
Portage of Kankakee R.
Portage Prairie
Pocagons Village
Old Weas Village
Old Village on Plant
Battle Ground of Tippecanoe
Prophets Town
Kickapoo Village
Former Kickapoo Village
Former Delaware Village
Former Miami Village
Old Miami Village
Old Indian Village
Fort Recovery
Fort Jennings
Fort Amanda
Fort Defiance
Cranberry or Portage Prairie
Raccoon's Village
Perishes Village
Potawatomi Mills
Old Potawatomi Mills
Deaths Village
Turkeyfoot Prairie
Old Indian Villages
Old Miami Village
Old Weas Village
Old Kickapoo Village
Old Delaware Town
Old Miami Town
Old Shawanoe Town
Old Wea Town
Old Chippewa Village
Old Village of Tecumseh
Old Shawanoe Village
Indian Village
Former Indian Village
Buckstown
Little Weesee Town
Weesee Village
Chippewa Village
Miami Village
Miami Town
Kenomines Village
Mississinewa Town
Mississinewa Village
Wabash R.
Tippecanoe R.
Mississinewa R.
Salamanie R.
Eel R.
Mud Creek
Kankakee R.
Iroquois R.
Whitewater R.
Big Blue R.
Flatrock R.
Sugar Creek
Wildcat Creek
Tippecanoe Battle Ground
Tippecanoe Battle Field
Tippecanoe Battle Ground
Tippecanoe Battle Field
Tippecanoe Battle Ground
Tippecanoe Battle Field

St. Mary's:

1) The Weas were allowed to keep a small tract of land approximately 7 miles square bordering on the Wabash just west of present-day Rockville, south of Montgomery County, in Parke County. (Royce area 114, Fig. 16)

2) The Miamis and Eel River Miamis were allowed to keep a 10 mile square reserve at present-day Thorntown. (Royce area 142)

3) The Miamis also kept several larger sections of land near Kokomo and Fort Wayne. (Royce areas 142, 196, 197, 198, 251, 252, 253, 254, 256, and 258)[12]

In return for giving up approximately 7,036,000 acres of land the Miamis were promised, in addition to the above-mentioned reservations, a perpetual annuity of $15,000, 160 bushels of salt, a grist mill and a saw mill, and support for a blacksmith and a gunsmith. Further, 21 tracts of land totaling 31,460 acres were granted to individual members of the Miami tribe.[13]

The treaties stated that the Indians could keep their lands forever, but as more and more settlers arrived, ownership of these lands became a difficult issue. Within ten short years, by February 11, 1828, the United States government had persuaded the leaders of the Eel River Miamis to give up the Thorntown reservation.

The value of the Indian land was of primary interest to keen businessmen. In 1830, Israel T. Canby was Receiver of the Crawfordsville Land Office which sold land throughout the northern part of the state. He was eager to be able to sell the land which was part of the Miami reservation on the Wabash (probably Royce area 258 and 198). He felt so strongly that the government should not lose out on a good deal that he wrote a letter to John H. Eaton, Secretary of War, whose office was at that time in charge of dealing with the Indians.

His letter gives us interesting information on the value of the land and it also provides another picture of the condition of the Indians, although I doubt that Canby's view was quite as objective as that of Isaac McCoy. The letter reads in part:

Crawfordsville
February 13, 1830

Hon John H Eaton
Dr Sir

There is a subject peculiarly interesting to the people of this part of Indiana . . . I allude to the purchase of the Miami reservation on the Wabash. . . . This tract contains between eight and nine hundred thousand acres; and in point of soil, water power and local situation, is decidedly the best tract of country in the State. I believe I hazard nothing in saying it will bring a million of dollars into the treasury in three years from the time it is brought into market.

The opinion prevails, and it will no doubt be so represented to you, that the more the Indian Country is surrounded by white settlements, the less valuable it is to them and consequently the more willing they are to sell. And where the Indian continues to possess his (---) character of independence of mind and warlike pursuits this opinion is undoubtedly correct. But is this the situation of the Tribe under consideration? The converse of this is true. Not a warriour amongst them and scarce a hunter. All independence of feeling lost forever in ninetenths of the tribe who are perfectly insignificant except as instruments in the hands of their half breed chiefs. The great majority of the tribe would long since voluntarily have abandoned their lands in this State had they not been retained for the purpose of extorting a high price from the Govt. A few of the leaders are shrewd and intelligent, well acquainted with the value of their land, and who will hold out for a very high price. This class is fast increasing by the education of the half breed children. And these lands are now so valuable that it has become an object for white men to marry their Squaws with the hope that they may thereby obtain valuable reservations in the name of their wives. . . . This reservation might have been purchased two years ago for half the sum it will now cost and I have no hesitation in saying 50 prct will be added to the present value in the course of this year by the sale of the canal lands. . . .

With great respect

I remain Yr. Obdt Srvt

I. T. Canby[14]

We do not have a copy of Eaton's response to Canby's letter, if indeed there was one, so do not know how much influence his words had. It is known that the Indians succeeded in holding on to this land until 1834 when they ceded Royce 198 and part of 245 to the United States government.

As was stated earlier, part of the treaty agreement was that the Indians were to receive annuities (i.e., yearly payments in money or goods). In order to receive their annuities the Indians had to go to specified distribution centers. Upon arrival at their payment center the heads of the bands or families were admitted into the fort six or eight at a time. Each presented a little bundle of short sticks to the Indian agent. Each stick represented one member of their group. Thus they indicated how many rations they were entitled to draw.[15]

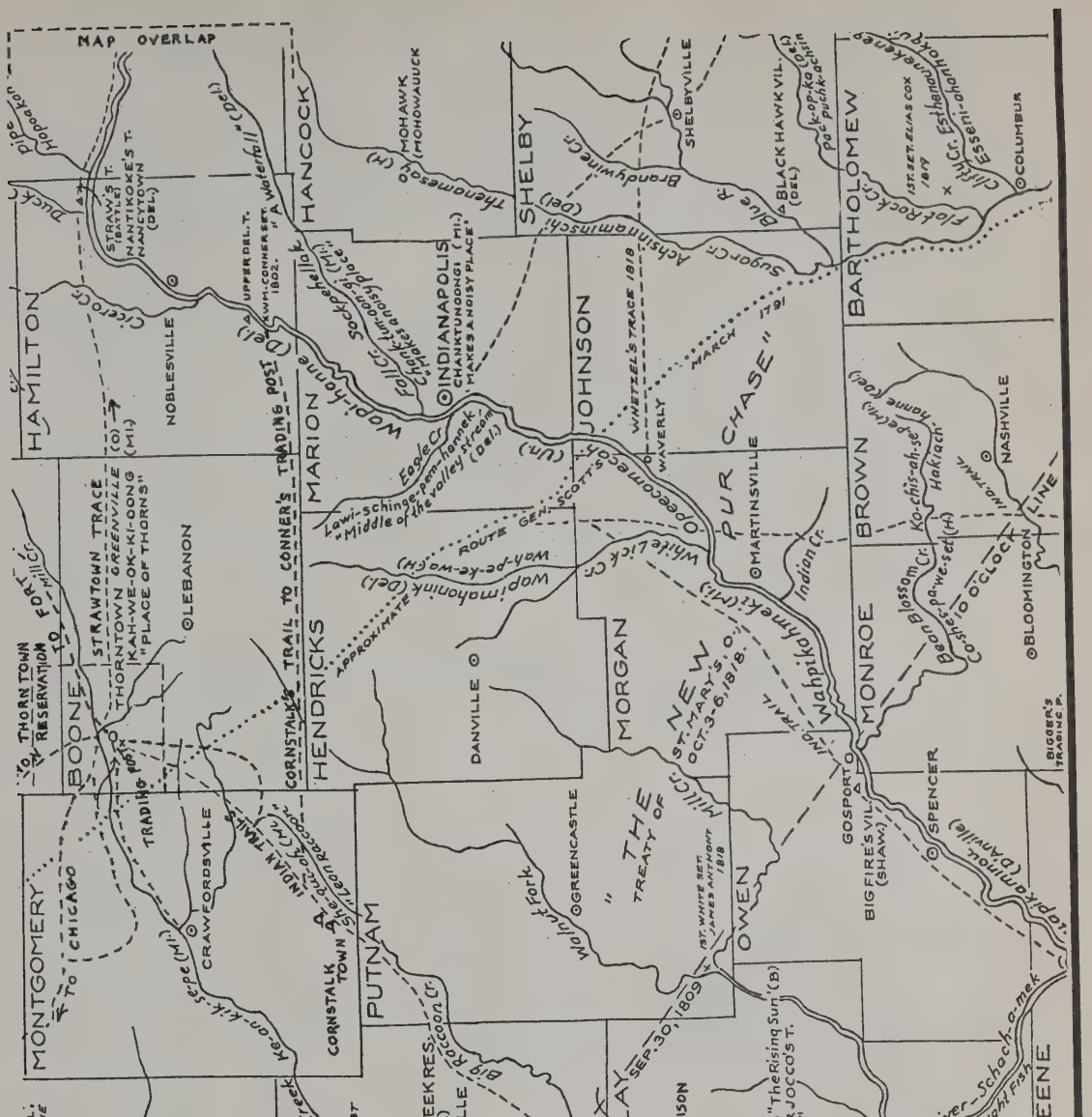
William L. Anderson said that Terre Haute had been such a center.[16] This may have been true before 1817,[17] but after that time I found no references to any annuities having been paid there. There were many other payment centers. For example, a partial list would show that after 1818 some of the Potawatomis were paid at Detroit and Fort Dearborn (Chicago). The Delawares were paid "at any place to which the Delawares may remove." (They left Indiana in 1820 and moved to Kansas.) The Shawnees were paid at Wapakoneta, Ohio and other locations in Ohio.[18] The Miami, Weas, Eel River Miamis, and some of the Potawatomis were paid at Fort Wayne until 1828.[19] Thus Fort Wayne was the center for the Thorntown Indians and the Wea from the Parke County Reservation. After 1828 Logansport became the payment center.[20]

Anderson's point was that there would probably have been a lot of traffic through Montgomery County as the Indians traveled to and from the distribution centers. Looking at the Indian trails, we agree this was probably true.

## Traces and Trails

"Traces" and "trails" are synonymous terms. Both are used to indicate paths which were made by the passage of animals or men, especially through wilderness areas. Most likely the traces and trails which ran through the Indiana Territory were established long before the United States government started paying annuities to the Indians. Probably the trails through the Montgomery County area were used by the historic Indians at least as early as 1700.

Fig. 17. Traces, Trails, and Other Indian Sites
(Detail of central Indiana based on the surveyors' notes and




maps by E. Y. Guernsey, 1932, rev. ed., Indiana Dept. of Natural Resources, 1968, and Ralph W. Stark, Lebanon, 1969?)

By 1700 part of the Miami tribe had settled in the region of western Ohio and others had moved into the country north and northwest of the upper Wabash where Kekionga (now Fort Wayne) became their main town. The Wea had moved to the Wabash River and established Ouiatenon. The Piankashaw had a village farther down the Wabash at the mouth of the Vermillion River; by 1750 a branch of the Kickapoo had also settled on the Vermillion and Wabash Rivers.[21] It seems natural that the Indians would have established trails to connect their settlements.

It was also at this time that the French established a chain of trading posts in the Midwest to connect their settlements and military posts in Louisiana with their fur trading centers in the north, around Detroit, Chicago, and in Canada. Between 1701 and 1732 they established forts or stockades at Pontchartrain (Detroit), at Kekionga (Fort Wayne), at Ouiatenon, at Fort Miami, and Vincennes.[22] Sometime in this period a trading station was set up at Kawiakungi (Thorntown).[23] Routes were undoubtedly established between these points.

Some of the travel, particularly by the French Voyageurs, was done by water, but consider this interesting passage from the writings of Jacob Dunn:

> [The Miami Indians] were never a "canoe people." La-Potherie says of them: "they travel by water very rarely but are great walkers, which has caused them to be called Metousceptinioeks, or Pilgrims." They did not use birch-bark canoes in Indiana, partly because suitable birch did not grow here, and partly because a boat of that kind would soon be made useless by the stones and snags of our rivers. An Indiana Indian had little use for a boat except for hunting and fishing, and a dugout was entirely satisfactory for these purposes.[24]

But following the land routes did not always prove an easy way for one to travel either:

> Trails in low ground were far less stable than those on the heights; indeed, very many were probably impassable for many months of the year, being subject to constant overflow from neighboring rivers or swamps. Thus numerous trails well worn in the the summer season must have been quite deserted in winter. And when such abandoned routes were again traversed, the old track was doubtless

found to be destroyed throughout the lowlands, and a new course was chosen each year by the first travelers who sought that route.

Thus through all Indian and pioneer history one of the chief qualifications of a guide was the ability to know what trails to use at each season, and to be able to estimate the extent of local storms or floods and know what trails would be affected by each.[25]

With this in mind it is perhaps understandable that it is not easy for us to say today exactly where the trails went.

It is generally stated that there were two important Indian trails which traversed Montgomery County. They were known by the settlers as the Wea Trail and the Strawtown Trace. This sounds like a simple fact, but, as with other "facts" we have tried to substantiate, finding historical documentation for these trails has not been simple.

There are several sources for information concerning these trails: 1) The Surveyors' notes from 1819-1820; 2) The 1878 Atlas of Montgomery County; 3) The writings of W. L. Anderson; 4) E. Y. Guernsey's 1932 map; and 5) Ralph W. Stark's "Boone County's Indian History" map (ca. 1969?).[26] Of course, no two of these agree and they vary from Guernsey's two trails to Starks' five trails. (See Fig. 17 and 18)

The oldest information comes from the notes made by the early surveyors. Since these were recorded at a time when the trails were still in use they should be the most reliable. Unfortunately not all the surveyors used the trails as marking points, so, for instance, whereas we have a detailed tracing of the Wea trail in Montgomery County there is no mention at all of the Strawtown Trace in either Montgomery or Tippecanoe Counties, although there is in Boone County. Therefore, these notes can be used as supporting but not complete evidence.

I have no knowledge of the sources Boone County's late Ralph W. Stark used in gathering his information but nevertheless, since his map gives the most complete list of trails which entered Montgomery County, and since there is supporting evidence for most of his claims, his map has been used as the basis of this discussion.

Starting at Kahweokkioong (sometimes called Kawiakungi,

sometimes spelled Kawiakungi) Stark showed two trails leading west. The one on the north side of Sugar Creek he labeled "The Great Trail." This trail connected Fort Greenville in western Ohio, with Fort Dearborn (present-day Chicago). The northern trail was not mentioned in the 1820 surveyors' notes but an addition to the Boone County survey dated 1829 included the second trail, the one which followed the south side of Sugar Creek, calling it "a wagon road to Crawfordsville."[28] The eastern section of this trail, between Straw's Town (Strawtown) on the White River and Kahweokkioong, was known as the "Strawtown Trace." The settlers also applied this term to the roads going west from Thorntown.[27] Both trails were mentioned in Montgomery County's 1878 Atlas:

> . . . Another trail [on the south of Sugar Creek], afterward the Strawtown road of the first settlers, led in a southwest direction from Thorntown to Crawfordsville; another trail [on the north side of Sugar Creek] passed the present site of Crawfordsville and went over to the Kickapoo town, on the mouth of the Kickapoo Creek, at the Wabash River.[29]

Guernsey's map shows the northern route, the one from Thorntown to the Wabash, going to the north of Lye and Black Creek swamps: a shorter route, it could have been used in the dry season. (See Figs. 2 & 17)

Another trail went into Kahweokkioong from the north east, from Kekionga (Fort Wayne). It left the Indian village running southwest and entered Montgomery County 6 chains north on the east boundary of Section 36, Township 19 North, Range 3 West (Sec.36 T19N R3W).[30] This trail was marked by the surveyors in four locations in Boone and sixteen locations in Montgomery County. Thus we can trace it through Franklin, Walnut, Clark, and Scott Townships.[31] The surveyors called it either "an Indian trail" or "the road to Fort Wayne." The settlers called it "The Wea Trail." Interestingly, neither Stark nor Anderson seem to have been familiar with the surveyors' notes for although their routes are close they do not correspond with the surveyors' marked locations.

Based on information given to him by the old settlers, William Anderson wrote a description of the Wea trail as it crossed through Clark and Scott Townships. Note that his account says the trail ran along the southeast bank of Cornstalk Creek: the surveyor's report clearly placed it "T17N R4W, East 36 chains on Random between Sec. 27 & 34," i.e., 20

chains west of the creek.[32]

Anderson also recorded a second branch of the trail. No mention of it was made by the 1820 surveyors in Montgomery County but part of it was noted in the Boone County survey. Stark had learned about it and included it on his map. (The reader who wants to follow Anderson's references in the following should consult the township maps in the 1917 Standard Atlas of Montgomery County.[33])

> These paths could be traced while yet in use almost as easily as paths through snow. . . . One of these enters our township north of the house that stands on John Brown's farm and passes just west of Maple Grove school house and just east of the Dunkard church, thence to the house Ben Himes lives in, which was built over the trail, thence to Cornstalktown. This was their route from Thorntown to Terre Haute. . . . You will notice it keeps along the southeast bank of Cornstalk Creek, at no time crossing it and at all times avoiding its crooks. The other trail was only a deviation from this main one. Beginning at Cornstalktown it kept along the northwest bank of Raccoon in a manner similar to that along Cornstolk [sic], it passed through Ladoga, through the south side of Oklahoma[34] crossed the creek northeast of Josephus Graybill's brick house, from there keeping the southeast side of the creek, passing between Drake Brookshire's house and the creek it kept on its way to Thorntown. No doubt this double route was chosen because it gave greater opportunity for hunting. The point where they crossed the creek beyond Mr. Graybill's house was long known as the Indian Ford.[35]

Just for the record, there was another Indian Ford in Montgomery County. It was in Ripley Township. Ruth Clodfelder McCormick wrote about it in her History of Yountsville.

> As you go south at the west edge of Yountsville from State Road 32 West, on Road number 200 South, past the Glenn Clough, Wilbur Smith, and Sam Stevens farms, to the bend of the road, there was at one time a road that went east and crossed Sugar Creek. This is what was called "Indian Ford" back in the early eighteen twentys [sic] when the first white settlers began to enter land. . . .
>
> The Indian Ford road crossed the creek just north of what is now Camp Rotary. It came out to the south line of

the McCabe farm and went east. The Indian Ford road then went on east between the two farms now owned by Theron McClure (1968) which was once owned by Clay Hall and the Nutt farm.[36]

Back to the Wea Trail. In 1903 Caroline Brown (pseudonym of Caroline Krout, a well known Montgomery County author), wrote a novel about the pioneer days of Indiana. She titled it On the We-a Trail.[37] Unfortunately her geographic references are too vague for us to track where Miss Krout thought the trail went. The 1878 Atlas was not much more specific:

> The great war trail from Vincennes, by Thorntown to the Mississinewa [River], passed this [Cornstalk's] village, crossing the county in a northeast direction, and following the watershed of Sugar Creek.[38]

This use of the phrase "the great war trail" is interesting, but puzzling. Remley Herr believed that it meant that this trail was a section of the Great Iroquois war trail. He hypothesized that the Iroquois used it when they raided the Illinois Indians in 1670-1680. He wrote two articles on the subject which are interesting and deserving of attention but, unfortunately, too long for inclusion here.[39]

I spoke with Remley about his information on this trail. The map which he showed me was like most other early maps of Indian trails in eastern North America in that it included Ohio, but did not cover the territory west of Ohio.[40] I have searched in both the general collections and map departments at Purdue and the Indiana State Library but have not able to find a map showing a "Great War/Western Trail" which would correspond to the trail through the Montgomery County area. Generally speaking the Great Trail of the West was the route between Pittsburgh and Detroit, and the War Trail of the Iroquois led up the Mohawk Valley and across New York to the Niagara River.[41] When the Iroquois raided villages in Kentucky their route seems to have been through Ohio. Most of the works which I have read seem to indicate that the raids on the Illinois were probably made from the Great Lakes region, coming down through Illinois.[42] So the Atlas's use of the "great war trail" remains a mystery to me.[43]

Stark marked a fifth Indian trail coming from Montgomery County. It ran through the southern edge of Boone County just north of present day State Road 234. He labeled it "Cornstalk's trail to Conner's Trading Post." Although this is

the only mention we have of this trail it makes perfectly good sense that such a trail should have existed. William Conner's Trading Post was established in 1802, four miles south of present-day Noblesville. It was an important early gathering point for the Indians and traders and remained at that location until 1837 when William moved his home north of Noblesville, at the site of today's Conner's Prairie.[44]

Burials

When the settlers arrived they found not only trails to indicate the presence of the Indians, but also many graves and burials.

The social customs of the Indians from the various tribes of this area were so similar it is not possible to distinguish from which tribe a given burial might have come. They used many different forms of burial.

> . . . whenever, previous to death, a person expressed a desire to be buried in a particular manner, his or her wishes were invariably complied with. . . . The preoccupation with manner of burial, and compliance on the part of the living with the wishes of the dead, helps to explain the variety of methods employed within a single tribe in disposal of the body, and the fairly rapid diffusion of different forms of disposal, from tribe to tribe within the same general area.[45]

The practices included tree burials, interment in earth graves lined with wood or stone slabs, and burial in cliffs. Other times small sealed log cabins were built over the bodies, or bodies were left on scaffolds. Sometimes children were interred in hollow trees or logs.

Evidence of most of these forms of burial were found by the settlers when they arrived in the county. Two stories about burials were included in Chapter 1: one was a slab burial ("Strange Remedy for Fits") and the other a ground burial ("An Indian Burial"). Other forms of burial are described in the accounts which follow.

A TREE BURIAL

> These Indians had their special peculiarities; they would not consign their dead to mother earth. [This is obviously an incorrect assumption on the part of the

settler.] Mr. William Corns tells us of a papoose that was buried in the trunk of a fallen tree. They first cut into the side of the trunk and split out a piece, which afterward served as the lid to this sepulcher, then they hollowed the trunk sufficiently deep to contain the body, which they then laid therein, covering it up with the part first split off. On the farm now owned by Misner Irvin another body was buried in a hollow poplar stump; a little farther west another was interred in the top of a tree by means of blankets.[46]

CABIN OR PEN BURIALS

About five miles to the southwest of the town of Ladoga, in Scott township, on Cornstalk creek, the pioneers observed a number of strange grave lots where the Indians who had lived there before the coming of the white settlement had placed many of their departed dead. They were buried not in the fashion of white people, neither like most of the Indians, but the bodies had been carefully wrapped and placed upon the ground, when small pens about two feet high had been built around the corpses, and over them a roof was erected. The open spaces between the poles or logs forming the pen or enclosure were all nicely chinked and plastered with mud, to make them impervious to the elements, also to keep the small animals from digging through to the bodies. Most of these wooden tombs had falled to decay when first seen by our pioneers. Many of the skeletons were found beside the rubbish and mortar used. One thoughtful farmer gathered together several skeletons and placed them in a shed on his premises to show to those interested in such things.[47]

There was no mention as to who this "thoughtful" farmer was, but in 1981 Wilbur Long told Remley Herr about another collection of bones. He recalled that David Harshbarger once had a large barrel filled with Indian bones:

CLIFF BURIALS

Long couldn't say whatever became of the barrel of bones, but he did explain where they had come from. The Cornstalk Indians had a burial ground located about a half-mile northeast of their village, upstream from Cornstalk Creek. At this point there is a high bank along the east side of the creek and the Indians had buried their dead in the face of the cliff, about halfway between the top and bottom. . . .

Although the Indians had been careful to dig their graves as caves leading well back into the cliff's face, making it an apparently secure, permanent and hard to find resting place for their dead, time changed this. The natural erosion of the creek bank washed away enough soil so that the graves were exposed and the bones dropped down onto the creek's bed where Harshbarger found them.[48]

Another log burial was recorded by W. L. Anderson:

ANOTHER TREE BURIAL AND A GRAVE

An Indian girl was buried on Newton Foster's farm just east of town [Ladoga]. When this girl died, her father not wishing to bury her in the ground, as wild animals frequently dug up the body when buried shallow, chopped a hole in a hollow log and after placing the child inside carefully stopped up the opening. Mr. Miller, who owned the farm, knew of this and did not wish to burn the log at the time he cleared the land. He therefore pulled this log beyond the line of clearing and thus saved the child from being cremated in the log heap. An Indian woman was buried a short distance southeast of town with unusual care, there being a box of wooden slabs placed about her. This fact led to the selection of this spot as a grave yard and is known as the Byrd graveyard. This Indian, it is said, has been dug up twice by white people and, after examination, replaced. Digging up Indians was regarded as quite a feat and many of their graves have been disturbed.[49]

A more recent find was told about in the oral history interview made in 1972 with Hazel Little. The find must have occurred some time between 1884 (the date her Father, George, inherited the land) and 1929 (the date he moved to Crawfordsville).

A PETRIFIED PAPOOSE

One time there was lightning that hit a tree and Father had the hired hands cut this tree down. Inside this tree (it was hollow) there was a petrified papoose in the hollowed out log, about a yard long. This little baby Indian had been buried in that hollowed out tree and put together with skins and cords. Father gave that to Wabash College. Now, I don't know if they still have it or not. . . .[50]

Who Were the Indians?

Thomas Dean's 1817 statement, "About 12 o'clock we came to three or four bark cabins of the Wea," is the earliest first-hand record we have found which provides a specific tribal name for the local Indians. It is hoped that more primary documents will be found giving specific references to other local tribes.[51] In the meantime we must combine secondary general information on the Indians of Indiana with information handed down through the families of the pioneers and with local traditions to obtain our data.

The United States census reports did not include Indians at this time. Even if they had they probably would not be of much use to us for the first census for Montgomery County was not taken until 1830. Lists of the tribes in Indiana during the settlement days come from the journals of early travelers and signatures from treaties. The tribes most frequently mentioned were the Mascontins, Piankasahaws, Kickapoos, Delawares, Miamis, Shawnees, Weas, Ouiatenons, Eel Rivers, Hurons, and Potawatomis, as well as Wyandots, Ottawas, Mingos or Senecas, Brothertowns, Winnebagos, and Puans (early Weas).[52]

It is interesting that out of all the stories recounted in Chapter 1 of this book, only four stories identify the Indians by tribe and only two tribes are named: the Indians in the "Cucumbers and Onions Story" and "The Sugar Creek Mill" were Miamis, and the Indians in the "Corn from the Wea" and "Holes in the Blankets" stories were Weas. Otherwise the designation used is simply "the Indians," or "Peter Cornstalk's Indians," or "the Cornstalks." Over the years there has been debate over the tribal affiliation of the Cornstalks--the predominant claims being Shawnee, Miami, or Eel River Miami. This will be discussed in Chapter 7 below.

A general overview of the tribes which are thought to have lived here, or at least to have frequented the area, was put together by Jim Leas in 1982.

> Although in no considerable number, Indian villages remained in Montgomery when the settlers showed up. The largest of these probably was Chief Peter Cornstalk's in southeastern Scott Township. . . . Another sizeable Indiana [sic] village, whose people went in pretty extensively for growing maize and other crops, existed on level ground near Sugar Creek in what eventually became the Shades State Park. These were the Piankashaws, one

of the many branches of the Miami confederacy. Most of them left the area after the settlers began moving in and were gone by the late 1820s. [See "How Long . . ." below]

Early Wayne Township whites found another Indian village located on a hill on the north bank of Coal Creek and about a mile and a half East of present-day Waynetown. It had a blockhouse close by and was near the site of the present railroad bridge over the stream. These Indians also were believed to belong to the Miami nation of tribes and they liked the spot for its clear-flowing-all-year water. Well, let's say flowing when it wasn't frozen over.

The Shawnee roamed over northern Putnam and southern Montgomery. They were the Indians reported seen by early Brown Township settlers and they left their marks up in Tippecanoe. . . with Shawnee Mound . . . and Prophetstown, south of Battleground. . . .[53]

Other tribes are mentioned in Beckwith's history in the section on Sugar Creek Township:

When the first settlers located here the Indians had not yet gone; they were of the Pottawatomie and Miami tribes. The former were warlike in their disposition and habits. Though they did not molest the settlers they were far from friendly. The latter tribe were of a social and affable character, and lost no opportunity to befriend the pioneers by supplying them, when in need, with meat and other food. The Miamis made warm friends among the settlers. They returned each autumn to hunt the deer and turkey, which then abounded in plentiful numbers in the forest, till 1833.[54]

Thus six tribes have traditionally been connected with the county: the Shawnee, the Potawatomi, the Miami, the Piankashaw, the Wea, and the Eel River Miami. Historical information on these tribes will be found in Chapter 6.

Just for the record, another tribe, the "Plum Orchard Indians," should be mentioned here. A chief of this tribe appears as a character in the historical scenes of Crawfordsville's 1916 Centennial Pageant.[55] No evidence has been found which indicates that any tribe with this name ever existed, although a Wea village located near Terre Haute was known as "Old Orchard Town."[56] (Fig. 17)

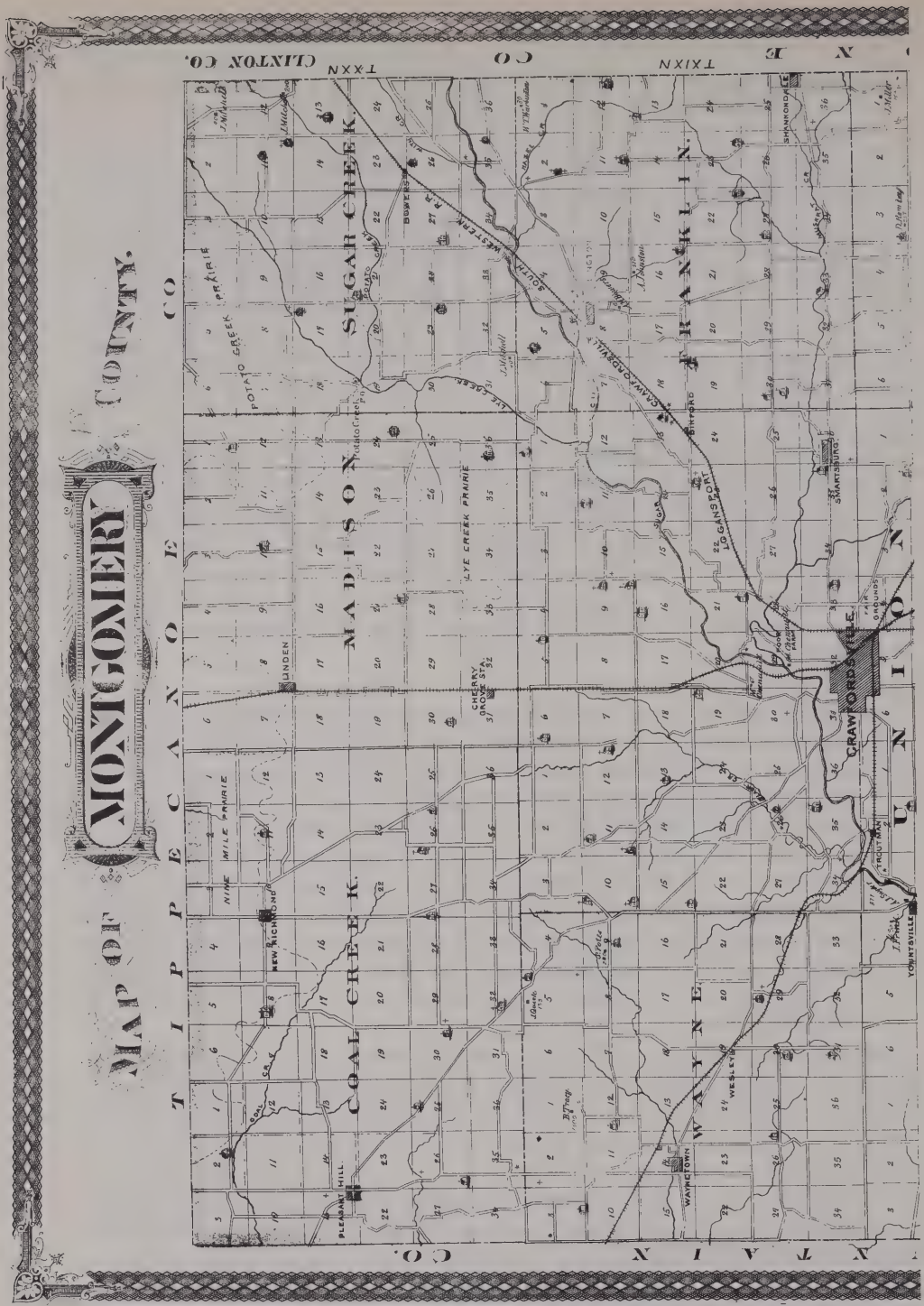
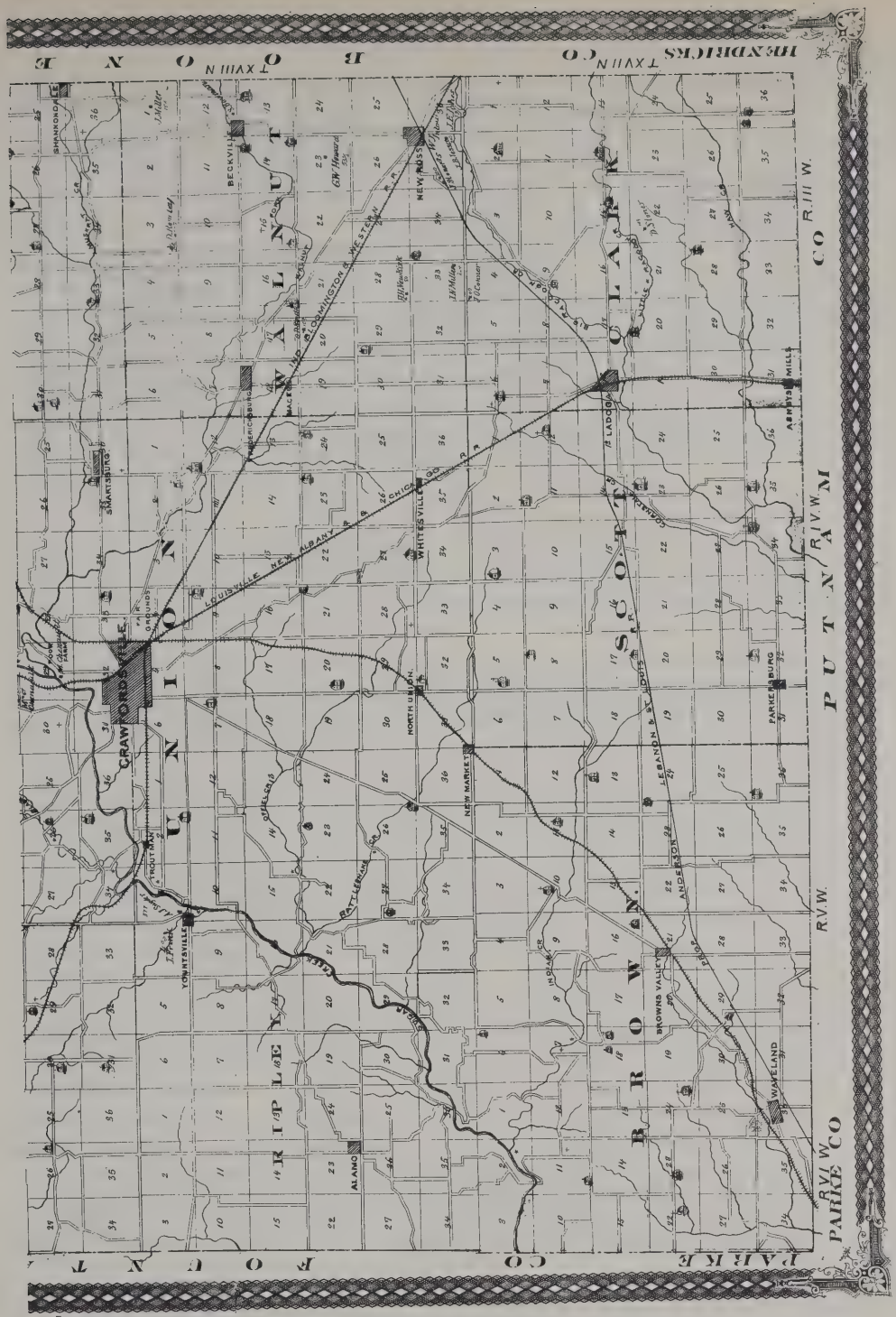



Fig. 18. Montgomery County, 1876. (From the Illustrated




Historical Atlas of the State of Indiana, Published by Baskin, Forster & Co., Chicago, 1876.)

Where Did They Live?

Various sources suggest many locations for the Indian camps. These are frequently vague and certainly the list is incomplete for every piece of high ground close to a source of water was a possible camping site for the Indians.[57]

The 1878 Atlas listed three locations:

> Indian villages, or rather camps, were scattered all over the county. The best known were on Sec. 16 T18N R4W [read this as Section 16, Township 18 North, Range 4 West] in Union, and Sec. 33 or 34, T18N R5W in Union. . . . A favorite camping ground of the Indians was in Wayne Township on Spring Creek.[58](Fig. 18)

Locations cited in other sources include the following:

> William A. Brown . . . settled in Clark township . . . [in] 1828 . . . on the old homestead. . . . The Indians camped on the creek close by.[59]

> Descendants of the William Brown family told of the Indian camp located along Strap's Branch. "Strap" was an Indian living in the township. There was another Indian camp located where Jonas Baker later lived.[60]

> There was another village on Haw Creek known as Dog-town. It was on the south bank about a mile west of the Monon railroad on what is known as the old Stover farm. Also a settlement was made on Little Raccoon near its mouth in less than a mile of Ladoga. Several wigwams were standing here when the settlers came, and years afterward trees were seen stripped of their bark as high as a man could reach. . . . These towns were frequently visited by the early settlers who freely mingled with the Indians.[61]

In 1924 Pearl LaFollette wrote,

> My Great-great-grandparents settled near a little Indian village called Sacranat, on an Indian trail. The trail was called Cornstalk after an old Indian chief.
>
> This village is a very, very small place but it is still in existence. It is now called Backville [Beck-ville] and was named after the Beck family.[62]

Throughout the years there has been much discussion about the exact location of the Cornstalk village. The Historical Marker Committee for the Montgomery County Historical Society located it on Cornstalk Creek near the old Harshbarger cemetery. There is good support for this, most persuasively the fact that it agrees with the marked location for "Cornstalk Town" in the NE 1/4 of Sec. 34 T17N R4W on the 1820 surveyor's map. This is the earliest official map of the county and that is the only village marked on it. The surveyor's notes which accompany the map locate it 58 chains east of the section line on the random between sections 27 and 34. Here the notes say "an Indian village on our right."[63]

W. L. Anderson's information on the Cornstalks, obtained from the tales of the early settlers, seems to confirm this location:

> Although somewhat migratory they made their chief residence five miles southwest of here [Ladoga] . . . near what is now the Cornstalk Baptist Church, on the bank of Cornstalk Creek.[64]

It was interesting to trace the history of the NE 1/4 of Sec. 34 T17N R4W through the records in the Security Abstract & Title Company's office. This land was originally entered by Austin M. Prewitt on July 3, 1822. It seems natural to ask why the Cornstalks remained there after the land had been sold. The answer to this seems to lie in the fact that Mr. Prewitt lived in Monroe County. He sold the land to his son, Amstead, on August 29, 1826, and Amstead sold it to Sarah and William Puett in 1828 but as far as can be determined none of these Prewetts (Puetts) ever moved here.

It was not until October 31, 1833 that any one in Montgomery County owned this land. At that time William and Sarah deeded three acres of it to the Trustees of the Providence Baptist Church for the purpose of building a church. The price was $7.00. Montgomery County's present Surveyor, Russell Nelson, confirms that the description of these three acres corresponds with the 1820 Surveyor's location of the Indian village. Thus it seems appropriate that the church was named Cornstalk Church for evidently it was built on the very site of the 1820 Cornstalk Town. (It was not until 1838 that a Harshbarger from Montgomery County, Samuel, purchased more of the land. By 1873 David Harshbarger--the one who later collected many artifacts, including the barrel of bones--owned the whole section except for the church.)

Another location of the village is given in the 1878 Atlas: "Cornstalk's camp was on the banks of the Big Raccoon, in Sec. 33 in Scott Township."[65] However, since neither Big Raccoon nor Cornstalk Creek runs through Sec. 33, something is obviously wrong with this statement.

Lewis Goshorn, a current resident of Ladoga, has been interested in the Indians of the area for a long time. He locates Cornstalk's village on a bluff between two ravines in Sec. 22 T17N R4W. This is a beautiful location, and certainly would have been a possible site for the Cornstalk village.[66]

One explanation for the many sites is found in a letter written by the Indian agent at Fort Wayne in 1817:

> They have places that are commonly called villages, but, perhaps not correctly, as they have no uniform place of residence. During the fall, winter, and part of the spring, they are scattered in the woods, hunting. The respective bands assemble in the spring at their several ordinary places of resort, where some have rude cabins, made of small logs, covered with bark; but more commonly, some poles stuck in the ground and tied together with pliant slips of bark, and covered with large sheets of bark. . . .[67]

Thus it may have been that the Cornstalks, as well as the Indians from the other tribes, were here only during the winter for hunting and sugaring. In that case they may have moved their villages several times. Other explanations may be that perhaps the camping sites of prehistoric Indians have been misidentified as historic sites, or the reports handed down through the generations may simply be mistaken.

Another explanation may come from the quality of early map making. Of course it is known that the courses of rivers have been known to change. Whether that was the case or whether they were marked incorrectly, it is certainly true that trying to compare the rivers and sections as marked on various maps--those in the 1878 Atlas, the one in Beckwith's 1881 history, the original landowners' maps in the 1979 issues of Montgomery, and the modern plat maps--is a wonderful way to make yourself very dizzy very fast. I wish luck to others who try it.[68]

## Artifacts Associated with Historic Sites

When people find stone arrowheads and other stone artifacts they frequently assume that these items belonged to the Indians who lived here just prior to or at the time of early white settlement: to the Miamis or Shawnees. Chances are this is wrong, for the following reasons.

By 1821, the date of the first white settlement in this area, the Indians of North America had been in contact with the Europeans for over 200 years and ever since the time of first contact, the French, Dutch, and English had used trade as a way of establishing friendly relationships with the Indians. The Indians traded furs and food for glass beads, cloth, and other items: most importantly--guns. Also, very soon after first contact the Europeans began manufacturing metal arrowheads and tomahawks for trade. Once the Indians began acquiring metal objects there was little need for them to continue the painstaking and time consuming task of chipping out stone weapons and tools. Thus the art of "flintknapping" was gradually lost.

The Indians who inhabited the Montgomery County area in 1821 were members of tribes which had previously lived in the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes regions. In the eighteenth century the French and British fought over these territories and during the French and Indian Wars they, primarily the French, gave guns to the Indians in exchange for their loyalty .

Therefore, combining the fact that the Indians in general had been receiving metal weapons and tools from the Europeans for over 200 years with the fact that the Indians in this immediate area received guns during the French and Indian Wars, it is reasonable to assume that any stone artifacts found in our area pre-date 1763, the end of the French and Indian Wars. And, as we saw in the section on prehistoric artifacts, they are probably much older than that.

If the historic Indians did not leave behind stone artifacts what kinds of items did they leave? Objects most often found on the sites of historic Indian villages are trade items, that is to say goods which were made in England or France and acquired by the Indians through trade. These include musket balls, flints from flintlocks, metal and/or wooden fragments of guns, jew's harps, iron hoes, pottery from water bottles, glass from medicine bottles, glass beads, metal fragments from cooking utensils, silver ornaments, and buttons.[69] (Fig. 20)

Although the historic Indians did use metal arrowheads they are not often found primarily because they were metal and were subject to corrosion; many just rusted away. Those which survived are very small and are difficult to spot.

When I was visiting Dr. Pace at the Department of Anthropology at Indiana State University I read through the field reports on sites in Montgomery County. There was one for the site of the cemetery which is in Sec. 34 T17N R4W, the site of the 1820 Cornstalk Town, but no artifacts were listed as having been found there. However, I became cautiously excited about a report of historic artifacts which had been found in Sec. 22 of Scott Township on the bluff above Cornstalk Creek. The list included metal, brick, earthenware, milk glass, glass bottle parts, and pieces of colored glass. I hoped this would provide information on the site of at least an Indian village if not a second location of Cornstalk's village. (It is too much to expect that we will ever find a silver cup stamped "I belong to Peter Cornstalk.") Unfortunately, when the artifacts file was checked it showed that these items dated from a later time period. The brick was the telltale item. Nevertheless, these are the types of things which one would expect to find on an Indian site from the historic period.

Glass beads may seem like insignificant items when compared to Paleo points but to a student of historic archaeology they are extremely important. It is by comparing beads from an unidentified site with beads from sites which have already been documented that scientists are able to date the unidentified sites. The beads are classified by size, shape, and color. They are particularly useful when identifying the Middle Historic period, from 1670 to 1760.[70]

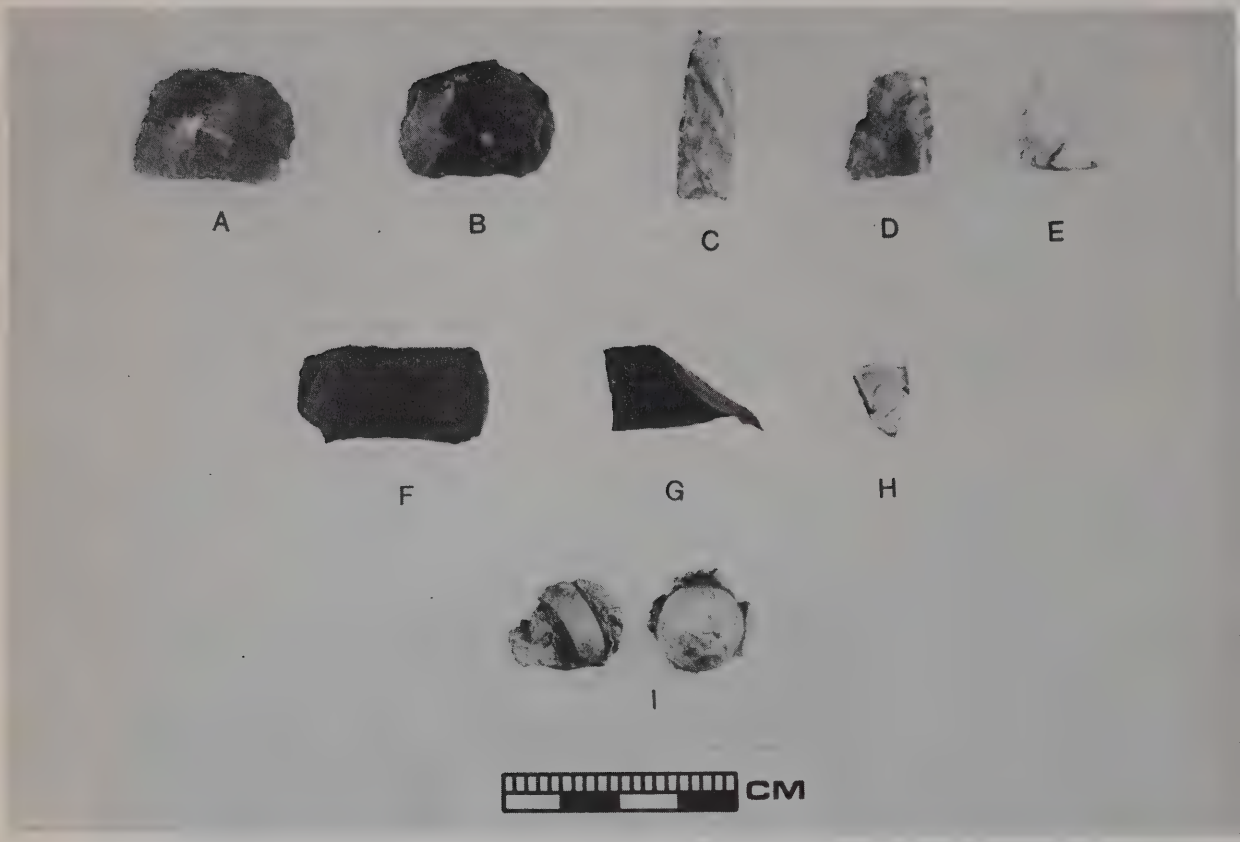
Glass bottles are important because they are sometimes stamped with the names of their manufacturers. If, as is frequently the case, only the neck of the bottle is found, it can often be dated from the length of the neck, where the ring is placed, the color of the glass, etc.[71]

The most important identifying objects for the Later Historic period, from 1760 to 1820, are silver ornaments like armbands, gorgets (chest ornaments worn by men), brooches, ear ornaments, small tubes or pipes worn as hair ornaments, and silver crosses. These were frequently stamped with the trademarks of their manufacturers, many of whom were French or Canadian.[72]

In the 1930's, Shirl Herr became interested in collecting historic artifacts. He put to good use a metal detector which he had invented. He and his son, Remley, spent many hours searching around the site of Fort Ouiatenon in Tippecanoe County.[73] (Fig. 19) Since then much work has been done in the Tippecanoe area, most recently by James Rick Jones from the Glenn A. Black Laboratory. The study and evaluation of his survey, conducted in the summer of 1984, is still in progress.

Today there is renewed interest in our county among collectors to work with sites from this period. It can only be hoped that they will have learned from the experiences of the past and will go about their research in a systematic way so that the items they collect can be verified and properly identified. If this is done we may learn much that will help us understand the Indians from this period.

Fig. 19. Artifacts Found by Shirl and Remley Herr in Tippecanoe County (Photo courtesy of Joe Boswell)




A. French gunspall; B. British gunspall;
C. Triangular projectile point (prehistoric);
D. Triangular projectile point base (prehistoric);
E. Projectile point tip (prehistoric);
F. Wine bottle sherd; G. Copper/Brass strip;
H. Blue glass sherd; I. Musket balls.

Fig. 20. Artifacts Found on 18th Century Archaeological Site (From Tippecanoe County. Photograph courtesy of James R. Jones III, Glenn A. Black Laboratory, I. U.)

## How Long Were They Here?

In order to try to determine when the Indians stopped coming to Montgomery County we have to put together information from many sources. There seems to be general agreement that the Indians began to leave as soon as the settlers started to arrive but to do so wasn't always an easy decision. In the 1950s, Theodore Gronert printed the following article in his newspaper column. It explains the general situation and shows how it affected James and Rebecca Herron.

> The signing of these treaties [in 1818] was greeted by white settlers as the final act in the dispossession of the Indians, but some tribes still clung to the land, firm in the belief that their hunting ground was common property, which could not be alienated.
>
> The Pottawatomie and Miami were reluctant to leave their hunting grounds and many remained in territory that had been ceded by the treaties of 1818 and 1820. Their chiefs insisted that the land was still theirs, because no tribe or group of tribes had the right to cede land that was the common property of all.
>
> The red men apparently never thought in terms of private ownership and their leaders spoke with conviction about the land where their fathers had hunted and where their ancestors were buried. Even the most land-hungry settler was sometimes moved to compassion when some withered ancient had to be removed forcibly from the rough burial ground where he hoped his bones might rest among those of his tribal ancestors. . . .
>
> In 1825 James Douglas Herron and his young wife, Rebecca Young Herron, entered land in the western section of Ripley Township. (See Fig. 1) When they drove through in late winter they drove over a road that was little more than a trace and finally reached their quarter section; they found a group of Miamis busily engaged in the operation of a sugar camp.
>
> Herron explained to the Indians that he had purchased the land, which had long since been ceded to the United States. The spokesman for the sugar makers offered the usual arguments against the validity of the treaty and declared that their right to use the forest to gather sustenance was a perpetual one that could not be alienated.

> The Herrons insisted on the justice of their claim but apparently did not convince the Indians who when evening came retired to their wigwams. Seeking shelter in their wagon the young settlers [were] determined to maintain their claims. James Herron with his rifle at hand maintained anxious guard for many hours. Toward morning, fires glowed in the Miami camp, there was chanting and dancing that to the jaded senses of the Herrons seemed to be the preliminaries of a war dance.
>
> Then there was one last dance about the fire and after that silence. When dawn came the Herrons found a deserted camp site. The wooden sap troughs had been cast in the fire and the tribesmen had gathered up their other meager possessions and departed.
>
> Experiences of a similar character in Wayne and Franklin Township indicated that the small remnant of Indians in the county accepted the inevitable. Their retreat from the beloved hunting grounds was sometimes slow and sullen but there was no resort to violence.[74]

There are varying reports about how long the Indians actually stayed around. Anderson wrote this about the Indian villages in Scott and Clark Townships:

> These towns were finally deserted in 1828. At that time the settlers were becoming numerous and the Indians were confined to reservations lying northeast of here. The largest Indian town near here was Thorntown which once sent its hundreds of warriors to the battlefield. . . . In 1829 the Indians left it, but before going they held a big dance which lasted twelve days. A number of people from here [Ladoga] went to witness it, among whom were two of the Westfall boys then living on what is now Walter Canine's farm.[75]

Looking for evidence which might corroborate this information I sought out the original land records. I hoped to find that the land had not been sold until after 1829. However, I found that the section which had been the location of Cornstalk Town on the 1820 surveyor's map was purchased by Austin M. Prewitt (or Puett) on July 3rd, 1822.[76] The reader will remember the discussion in "Where did they live?" about the several transfers of this land. The important fact for us at this point is that the land was not owned by anyone who

lived in in Montgomery County, until 1833 when three acres of it were sold to the trustees of the Providence Baptist Church who built the Cornstalk Baptist Church. What this gives us is circumstantial evidence that at least until 1833 the settlers did not lay physical claim to the land, thus the Indians could have retained their hunting rights on it even if they didn't retain their village as such.

There is one bit of evidence that Peter Cornstalk might have been in the area in 1830. A letter written by James H. Harrison was published in The Ladoga Pioneer, September 15, 1887. Among his reminiscences was an account about the sale of the land from the Thorntown reservation. This sale took place in June of 1830. In his letter he stated:

> Cornstalk, chief of the remnant tribe of Indians then living near my residence at old Cornstock town, I think, informed me of the time for the sale.[77]

Other reminiscences about Cornstalk from James H. Harrison's letter are included in Chapter 7 below.

Allen Harrison, was about fifteen years old when he came to Scott Township and lived near Cornstalktown. In his old age he conversed often with W. L. Anderson about these Indians, "with whom he was quite familiar."[78] His contact with the Indians would have to have been after 1830 because although his father and grandfather, Robert and Joshua Harrison, came here in 1829, it was not until the fall of 1830 that their families joined them.[79]

An editorial which appeared in the October 18th, 1831 issue of The Record was rather ambiguous as to whether or not the Indians were still around. It contains statements such as "At your approach you have seen them fade away," and "You have taken their places . . . while their wigwams stand yet on your farms." But then it says, ". . . and the Indian as he takes his departure, casting back a last glance at his hunting grounds, sees . . . ." The complete editorial is included below in the section "Montgomery County and the Indians After 1831."

Several of the stories in Chapter 1 took place after Anderson's 1828 date. In the "Corn From the Wea" it is implied that the settlers purchased corn from the Indians until 1833. Whether that was the date the Wea left, or the date the farmers succeeded in protecting their own crops against

"the appetites of the wild animals" is not know.

Elsewhere in Beckwith the statement is made, "They returned each autumn to hunt the deer and turkey, which then abounded in plentiful numbers in the forest, till 1833."[80] The winter of 1833-4 is said to have been extremely severe and the wild game was reportedly scarce after that time.[81]

Thomas Hall owned the land on which the Indians camped at Indian Ford in Ripley Township. (See "A Rock and a Cave" in Chapter 1) The story goes that he made friends with the Indians. Since he did not come to Montgomery County until 1835 this contact would have had to have been after that date.

But perhaps it should be pointed out that it is possible that many of the old settlers who said they had known the Indians never met one at all. They may well have talked with the earlier settlers who told them stories and through the years the experiences of others became assimilated into their own memories to the point that they did not distinguish one from the other. A case in point may be the above mentioned Thomas Hall stories. Thomas's property was first owned by Joseph Hahan who lived there from the time of original purchase, on July 22, 1822, until he sold it to Hall on July 4, 1835.[82] It seems reasonable that Hahan would have had the type of contact with the Indians that has been attributed to Hall. Perhaps the stories belonged to the land and Hall acquired them along with the property. However, if they did happen to Hall, then they would have post dated 1835.

Ray Scruggs is presently engaged in trying to date artifacts found on historic sites. He hopes to prove that some of these date from the 1840's. If he can do so it would be extremely important: it would mean that there were Indians here after the general removals of the last Indiana Indians to Kansas. They could have been part of the Miamis who were given permission to remain (mostly relatives of the Godfroys) or perhaps they were transient Indians who were taking shelter here. In effect, they might have been hiding from the government officials in order to avoid being removed. This is pure speculation--but an intriguing thought.

## Where Did They Go?

Unfortunately we lack historically verifiable evidence of exactly where the local Indians went, but we can make some

educated guesses concerning their probable destinations.

In the Beckwith history it is stated, "they moved to Grant County."[83] In the Brookshire story "A Sad Homecoming" it is stated that they moved to Wells and Jay Counties.[84] A question arises. To whom did the writers refer when they said "they"?

It is rather obvious that it does not make much sense to say they all, meaning the many tribes which were represented in our county and the many Indians who were here as transients, moved to Grant or Wells or Jay Counties. It is more likely that the writers were refering to the Cornstalks, who were, from all indications, the most noteworthy of the bands in the area.

A history of the Indians of Grant County was written in 1982 by Karen Blinn.[85] During her research she did not find any information to indicate Peter or the Cornstalk Indians were ever in Grant County.[86] Correspondence with librarians in Jay and Wells Counties has not revealed any information which would substantiate the claim that the Cornstalks or any other Indians from Montgomery County moved to those counties either. However, information from this period is scarce and the lack of it does not actually disprove the claims.

Stewart Rafert, a present-day authority on the Miamis, wrote this to me:

> The small group at Thorntown . . . moved to Deer Creek Township in Miami County. . . . [Later] they moved to Butler Township near Peru, where they married among the other Miamis. . . . [The] Wea . . . could go either way, north to Miami settlements, or west, to join the Weas who were removed to Kansas Territory.[87]

If one accepts the theory that at least some of the Indians from our county were connected with the Thorntown Indians, and some with the main body of the Weas, then it is reasonable to assume that they moved with those groups to their new areas.

There is some evidence, which will be presented in Chapter 7, that a few of the Indians from this area moved to Howard County.

As we saw above in the section on "Reserves in Central

Indiana," the United States Government kept making new treaties with the tribes. By 1836 the tribes had been persuaded to sell all their lands in Indiana, with the exception of the land which belonged to few Miami who had individual land grants and were permitted to stay. The vast majority of others either fled out of the area or were removed, voluntarily or by force, to the new reserves in Kansas.

Combining the above information with the information on the six Montgomery County tribes, as given below in the writings of Erminie Voegelin, this may be that the most definite statement we can make: Some of the Indians from this area probably intermarried with the Miamis who were granted rights to stay in Indiana and others, those who survived the problems connected with alcholism, disease, mental and social depression, and the removals, probably moved to the reservations in Kansas. Of the ones who moved, those who chose to remain as reservation Indians probably ended up on the reservations in Oklahoma. Those who chose to leave the reservation could have gone anywhere they chose, including returning to Indiana.

Montgomery County and the Indians after 1831

The few groups of Indians scattered through the area after 1831 did not receive much attention (which may have suited them just fine). In the October 18, 1831, issue of The Record, Montgomery County's first newspaper, the editor was trying to drum up subscriptions for his new venture. In his front page editorial he used the Indians as an example to show how civilization was improving the county.

> To no other cause than that of science, can we refer the rapid changes under which this county is now passing, where a few years ago nature slumbered in her wildest scenery. Here a few years since the Council fire glowed, and the smoke of the wig-wam ascended up through a dark forest, untouched by the hand of art. Many of you have seen another race of men thickly scattered over the country where you now live. At your approach you have seen them fade away and their Council fires go out. They remained here long and the country underwent no visible change. You have taken their places, and while their wigwams stand yet on your farms, nature is awaking to newness of life, and the Indian as he takes his departure, casting back a last glance at his hunting grounds, sees them checkered into fields smiling under the hand of

cultivation. Where he hunted the deer, he sees domestic animals feeding on green pastures; and the soil, which he found too churlish to yield him the necessaries, crowned with the luxuries of life, as if the white man possessed the power of magic, and where ever he set his foot, the earth put on beauty and gladness. Do you ask the reason for this great difference? But one answer can be given. It is not found in the color of skin. It is found in no physical cause whatever, for as physical men, they are equal if not superior to the whites. The only true difference between us is the Indian possesses not the light of science, and we are the children of education. And while we (---) of our great superiority to them, and the many advantages we have over them, we should not neglect to keep alive the cause of these great differences, the most powerful engine of which is the press.[88]

It was said by the early settlers that even though relationships with the Indians had been friendly, "as long as they were around the whites were afraid of them.[89] This seems to have held true even after the majority of them had in fact left this area. Peter C. Kennedy wrote a lively account of Montgomery County's response to the Black Hawk War which was printed in Beckwith's history. It demonstrates this continued fear.

THE BLACK HAWK WAR SCARE

It is difficult to realize that as late as 1832 Montgomery county was so near the western frontier as to be subject to alarms from Indian wars. Yet it is true that in that year the whole county was thrown into the greatest consternation by the breaking out of the Black Hawk war. In the latter party of May of that year rumors reached the Wabash valley that the celebrated Sac chief, with a large band of painted warriors, was on his way eastward, and was likely to penetrate the settlements as far as Montgomery county. Runners were sent out from Crawfordsville to the commanders of all the military companies in the county, ordering them to assemble their commands at once at the county seat, armed and equipped for a campaign against the Indians. All who were fit for military duty assembled at once. The colonel, major and captains were all on hand with their red and white plumes, red sashes, and shining brass buttons, and the hardy settlers in homespun suits brought their trusty rifles, powder-horns and deer skin bullet pouches. The

"big drum," the "little drum" and fife filled the air with the music of war. The band marched up and down Main street, and all who were willing to aid in driving back the merciless savages were requested to fall in behind it. In a short time a company of infantry, one hundred strong was recruited, and a cavalry company of fifty. The infantry was put under command of Capt. Elikam Ashton, the cavalry under Judge Burbridge. These companies were soon equipped, provided with stores and provisions and started on the campaign. They went through Attica, and marched as far toward Chicago as Hickory Grove, in Illinois, where they met about 3,000 Illinois volunteers, who escorted them into camp with honors such as only heroes returning from a victorious campaign are worthy of. But it was soon ascertained that the alarm was groundless, that Black Hawk had been already driven back by a detachment of the regular army and some Illinois militia, and the Montgomery county volunteers took up the line of march for Crawfordsville, where they arrived after an absence of about fifteen days, and dispersed to their several homes, never again to be disturbed by rumors of war in the Wabash valley. Although the campaign was brief, bloodless and uneventful, it showed the mettle of the early settler of the county.[90]

Land still owned by the Indians was always of prime interest to business minded citizens and it was through the purchase of Indian lands that the Elston Bank was financed.

ISAAC ELSTON AND THE IROQUOIS

Maj. I. C. Elston, Sr., learned in 1852 that Burbonnais, chief of the once powerful and war-like tribe of Iroquois Indians, who through war and pestilence had dwindled to a mere handful, and who were then living on a reservation of some thirty-five hundred acres located in the present county of Kankakee, Ill., wished to migrate to the then unexplored and unknown westland. Knowing of the fertility of their lands, he at once visited Chief Burbonnais, the proud and autocratic ruler of these once mighty people. After smoking the pipe of peace, entering into the dances and other demonstrations of respect in his honor, he negotiated the purchase of their reservation, which was soon accomplished. But the sanction of Congress was necessary to legalize the sale. Maj. Elston traveled to Washington, where, after three months, he accomplished his purpose

> and returned with deeds for the entire thirty-five hundred acres. Maj. Elston at once platted the present city of Kankakee. The wonderful possibilities of this rich country--one of the garden spots of the world--was soon realized. Maj. Elston soon disposed of his holdings, realizing something like $75,000 on the transaction. Returning to Crawfordsville, and knowing of the splendid opportunity for a banking business . . . he founded with this money in 1853 the Elston Bank, the first in the county and now one of the very oldest in the state.[91]

As the Indians were moved farther and farther west, the conflicts between them and our government continued. In 1870 the Crawfordsville Weekly Journal ran the following editorial:

> The Indians have renewed hostilities on our Western frontier, and the indications are that the war is soon to begin. General Sheridan favors extermination. If they are to keep up a constant trouble with the whites, we don't know but that his plan is good enough. However, we are not quite ready to favor the idea. We believe the Indian question can be settled satisfactorily could the right men be found to carry out the policy of the government toward them. Let us have faith to believe they can be found.[92]

Is it heartening for us to know that the editors of our newspaper were "not quite ready to favor the idea" of extermination of the Indians? At least it shows that they had some compassion for them--but only if the Indians would learn to behave and submit quietly to the takeover of their land and lives by the whites.

This was the last editorial which I found in the local papers concerning the Indians. Considerable print was given to the problems which culminated in the Battle at Wounded Knee in December of 1890, but the accounts were all simply reprinted from the telegraph service. The editors of our papers did not reveal how they felt about the matter.

## The Situation Today

Trying to find a definition for what is required to establish one's self as an Indian today can be very confusing. Even the United States government does not have a set

definition. Each department has its own criteria. Generally, an "Indian" is a person with at least one Indian grandparent, that is, with at least one-fourth "Indian blood," but the matter is more complex than that.

There are people with no Indian blood who find that their philosophy of life is compatible with that of the Indians who consider themselves to be Indian. And there are people who may be full blooded Indians who have become so adapted to the ways of the non-Native American culture that they do not consider themselves Indian at all.[93] It has been said, but not verified, that there are identical twins living in Montgomery County in 1984, one of whom claims his Indian heritage while the other does not.[94]

The 1980 Census of Population for the United States contained a count of "Native Americans." Unfortunately, no other information is available, not even the tribal affiliations. In 1984 a letter was published in the Journal-Review asking the people who reported to the census that they were Native Americans to give us basic information which we could place in this study, but no one responded. We respect their desire for privacy, but regret that we must end this section of our study with only the bare fact that, in 1980, 49 Native Americans lived in Montgomery County, Indiana.

## SECTION II

Information about the Indians of Indiana--with particular relevance to the Indians of Montgomery County--taken from general studies on the Indians of North America.

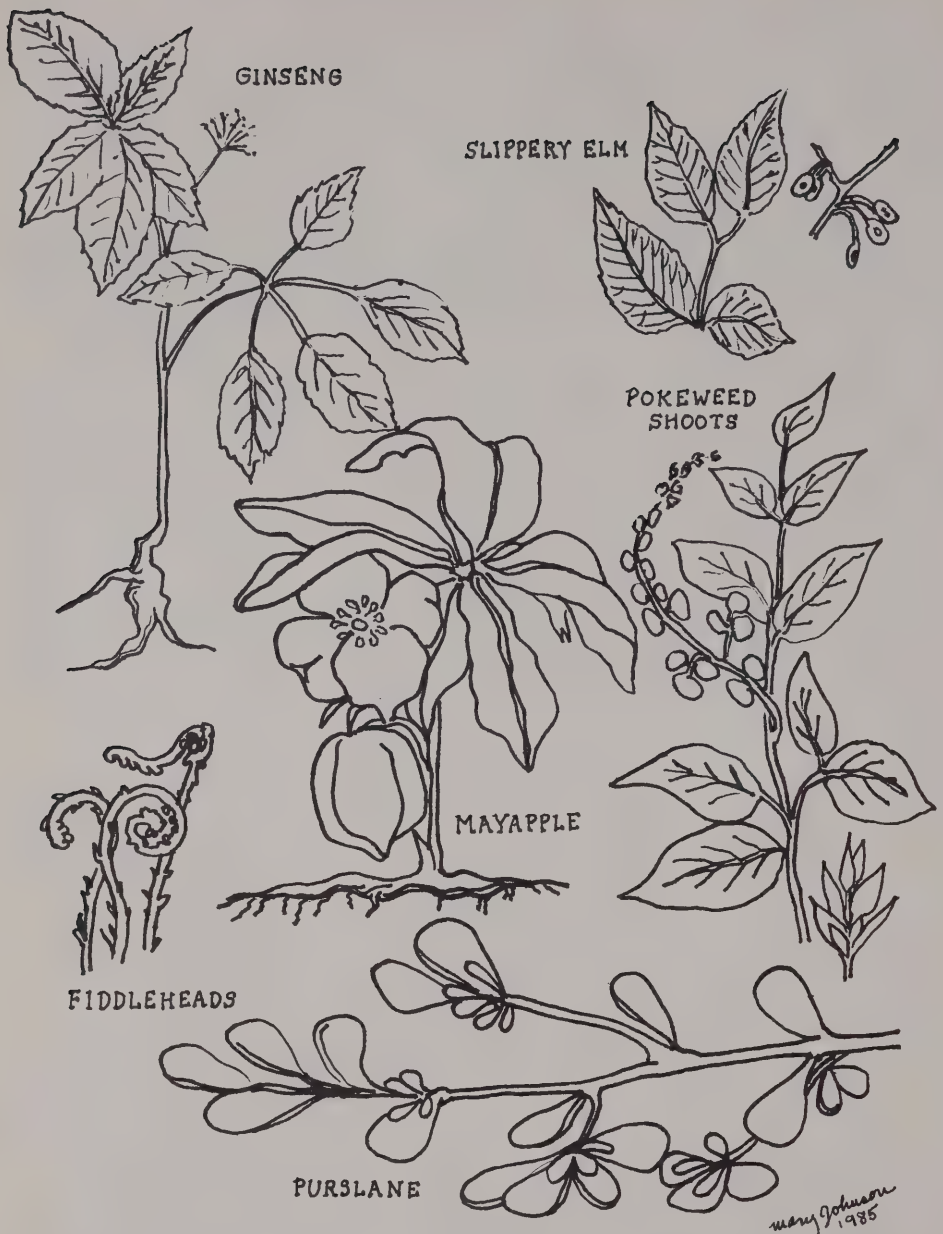



Fig. 21. Plants of Montgomery County
(Drawings by Mary Early Johnson)

## Chapter 4: Plants and Their Indian Uses

Dr. Robert O. Petty, a native of Indiana and a Professor of Biology at Wabash College, wrote this article especially for inclusion in this book.

### Botany and the Indians of Montgomery County

Long before the white man had ever seen this land the Miami Indians called the rolling forest and prairie land that includes present-day Montgomery County, "Mankatow," which meant simply "the green land"--place of many plants.

For food and medicine, fibers, cordage and tools, shelter and fuel, Indians had a plant for nearly every purpose and some purpose for almost every plant. For millennia, native Americans had been perfecting a wild harvest from the plants that were a part of their environment. Important domesticated plants were grown in gardens and clearings, plants older than tribal memory whose wild ancestors grew in South and Central America: plants such as potatoes and maize, beans and pumpkins, squash and melons. Certain tribes grew peanuts or tobacco, or tended large bogs of cranberries.

Wild foods were abundant everywhere in the right season. Late winter to early spring was the scarce time, the time when the Indians had to depend upon hunting for their food. February was called "hunger moon," but it was also the time when the Indians could make sugar from the saps of maple and certain other trees.

Wild berries and nuts of all sorts, wild crabapples, plums, and haws seemed scattered everywhere each summer and autumn. The Indians called any edible, nut-like fruit such as an acorn "chinquapin."

In the fall, hickory nuts, beech nuts, and acorns--especially acorns from various white oak species (those with lobed leaves)--were ground into a meal to extend cornflour. The rhizomes of many plants, especially cattails and lotus lily, plus the seed-like fruits of pigweed were other common sources of flour-extending meal. Nut meats were also pounded into strips of drying meat to form the food called "pemmican." In all, plants might account for up to 70% of the yearly calories for some tribes, especially when the game was scarce.

The Indians depended upon plants for many necessities of

life besides food. The poles for their wigwams were fashioned from a variety of saplings, most frequently of basswood, pawpaw, tulip tree, ash or hickory. The frames were lashed together with cordage or twine. The cordage was made from the "bast" or "retted" (watersoaked) inner bark fibers of trees such as basswood (initially, "bast wood"), hickory, pawpaw, mulberry, and, where it grew, osage orange. The twine was spun from milkweed fibers as well as hemp (dogbane).

The chief bark used for the roof and sides of the wigwam was from the red elm tree--with its reddish wood. Elm was chosen because the bark from this tree peels off in large continuous slabs and resists decay well. Where elms were few, the barks of yellow poplar (tulip tree) and cotton wood were used.

Red elm bark separates along a mucilaginous inner layer, thus its other name, "slippery elm." The gummy inner bark (phloem) was a source of important medicinal products used as remedies for sore throats, coughs, and complaints as various as cystitis and dysentery. It was prepared both as a soothing ointment and as a tea. It could be stored in powdered form. Slippery elm continued to be listed in various Materia medica and official dispensaries into the late 19th century, and is still included in popular books on medicinal plants. The Indians also used the inner bark as emergency food called "oohooska." It is sweet, palatable, and mildly nutritious.

The red elm was a versatile plant. Another of its uses was in food preparation, for elm bark could prevent fats from becoming rancid: the Indians mixed it with bear fat for storage purposes, and the early settlers did the same, using it with lard. The leaves of the tree were chewed as gum, and a tea was brewed from them as a remedy for the bite of the poisonous "Massagua" or prairie rattle snake. We lack evidence to determine how useful it really was in this latter situation.

Plants used for dyes were called "puccoons." An important one was bloodroot. Yellowroot was also used, as were walnut hulls.

Tobacco, called "kinnikinick," was made from sumac, bladder nut, mullein, and other plants when true tobacco was not available.

Plants played an important, if less direct, role by

shaping the very environment in which the Indians lived. At the time of settlement, Montgomery County was a mosaic of vegetation types: prairie and oak openings covered the north and west; large patches of swamps, wet meadows,and ponded forest were scattered everywhere among the predominant upland forest.

The forest canopy was generally two-layered. Well over 100 feet high stretched an overstory of huge white oaks and yellow poplars. Beneath it was a second high canopy of beech, sugar maple, walnut, ash, and elm. One hundred and one tree species were native in Indiana; between 30 and 40 tree species rounded out the dominant forest. About 1,800 native plant species occurred in the state, and at the time the Indians lived here several hundred species of herbs, shrubs, and vines were present in the county.

The northern part of Montgomery County was especially rich in large patches of black-soil wet prairies. These grew on filled-in ancient shallow lake beds. (Fig. 2)

To the south, on the glacial Lake Harney's lacustrine soils, stretches of wet meadow were interwoven with ponded forest and drier upland forest.

These forests were a mosaic of disturbances. Here and there were extensive tornado tracks, fire scars, and areas opened up by wind-thrown trees or "fallen timbers." One old-growth tree toppling in old age could in the destruction of its collapse open up a quarter acre of "windfall" sunlight. Into these areas a dense brush of berry briars, shade-intolerant trees, shrubs, and herbs such as pokeweed flourished; or a growth of pawpaw, black cherry, or haws; or thickets of poplar, walnut, or sassafras. Or the whole of it might be festooned with grape vines or poison ivy. These areas attracted much wild game and provided space for some valuable food plants. (See Fig. 21 for illustrations of some of these plants.)

Whether as residents or hunting bands, the Indians knew where to look for valuable plants. The thick-rooted herbs which the whites often called "Indian turnip" or "Indian potatoes" were especially abundant in the prairies of what became Madison and Coal Creek Townships. Cattails grew everywhere in the wetland, while colonies of Indian cucumber, wintergreens, and ginseng were more common to the big timber hills of Ripley and Brown Townships.

Bogs suitable for the growing of vaccinuim (the family which includes huckleberries, blueberries, and cranberries) are known to have been located notably in the area between Waynetown and Alamo and in the area east of the present Cherry Grove elevator near Lye Creek. The true cranberry is not officially listed as being native to Montgomery county, but neither were a number of other plants which we know to have been native. If not a true "native," it may have been introduced by either the Indians or the white settlers.

Many plants served to season or flavor certain foods. Among those which grew in Montgomery County were spicebush, wild ginger, and various mints. Some herb seasonings were initially considered medicines and were sprinkled in the food to make ingesting them more palatable. These herbal medicines wound up "doctoring" the food, and many became spices which are used by cooks today.

Fig. 22. Indian Bead Work Using Plant Design
(Drawing by Mary Early Johnson, from an object
in The Indian Heritage Museum, Indianapolis)

## SOME PLANTS USED FOR MEDICINES

| Uses: | Some form of: |
|---|---|
| Wasp and bee stings | Mullein leaves |
| Skin burns | Oak bark and leaves |
| Skin lesions | Willow bark and leaves |
| Asthma | Mints, blackberry juice |
| Warts | Milkweed sap |
| Headache, fevers | Willowroots, wahoo bark, wintergreen |
| Sore throat | Elm bark tea |
| Colds | Wild ginger |
| Chills | Snakeroot |
| Indigestion | Yellowroot, mayapple |
| Sore eyes | Goldenseal |
| General tonic | Sassafras root |
| Bone fractures | Boneset (eupatoruom) |
| Jaundice | Wild fruits generally |

## SOME WILD FOOD PLANTS

Eaten raw:

- Berries, apples
- Burdock stalks
- Calamus shoots
- Cattail shoots
- Chicory, dandelion
- Clovers
- Indian cucumber
- Purslane
- Rose hips
- Thistle
- Violet
- Waterleaf
- (Shawnee salad)
- Wood sorrel

| Steamed: | Cooked or boiled: |
|---|---|
| Chickweed | Artichokes |
| Day lily | Burdock root |
| Fern fiddleheads | Ferns |
| Greens, e.g. docks, cress | Greens, e.g., dandelion |
| Pigweed | Indian potatoes |
| | Nettles |
| | Pokeweed shoots |

Robert O. Petty, Crawfordsville, 1984[1]

## Chapter 5: The Woodland Indians

### Culture Groups

When scholars began studying the culture of the Indians of North America they found that life styles and customs of the various groups overlapped so much that it was difficult to distinguish between tribes. Thus they looked for another way to classify the Indians.

They found that the groups who lived near each other in particular areas shared similar customs and could be clustered together according to the terrain in which they lived. From this they developed eight culture areas and gave them names related to the land in which the Indians lived: Plains Indians, Indians of the Southwest, Indians of the Pacific Northwest, etc. The Indians of Indiana belonged to the culture group descriptive of the terrain found in the north eastern section of North America: the Woodland culture group.[1] The reader is cautioned against confusing the "historic" Woodland Indians with the "prehistoric" Woodland Indians described earlier in Chapter 2. The two were separate cultures and there is no known connection between them.[2]

The historic Woodland Indians lived in the area which extended across the northeastern United States from the Atlantic coast to the Great Lakes and from just south of the Ohio River and west of the Mississippi to Hudson Bay in Canada.[3] They moved around a lot, and because they moved in groups rather than as whole tribes it is difficult to know exactly who was where and when. In general, the ancestors of the Montgomery County Indians were from three subgroups of the Woodland Indians: the Miamis, Weas, Piankeshaws, and Eel Rivers belonged to one group; the Potawatomis the second group, and the Shawnees the third.[4]

### Languages

Another way that scholars have classified the study of Indians is by language families. These do not necessarily fall along the same lines as the culture groups. There were two major language families among the Woodland Indians: the Iroquois, Hurons, and Cherokees spoke languages which were related, and others, the Miamis, Shawnees, etc., spoke languages belonging to the Algonquian-Wakashan language family. The languages within a family were related in much the same way that modern languages are related, for example, French, Spanish, and Italian are members of the Romance language

family.[5] All the Woodland Indians who frequented our area belonged to the Algonquian language family.

> The Algonquian-Wakashan language family of North America was one of the most widespread of Indian linguistic stocks; in historical times, tribes speaking its languages extended from coast to coast. . . . The Algonquian branch of the family once had some 50 distinct tongues, among them Algonquian, Arapaho, Blackfoot, Cheyenne, Cree, Delaware, Kickapoo, Micmac, Ojibwa (or Chippewa), Penobscot, Sac and Fox, Shawnee, and Yurok. . . . Today the surviving languages of this family are native to some 80,000 Indians in Canada, the Great Lakes region, Montana, Wyoming, Oklahoma, and the North East United States.[6]

## THE MIAMI LANGUAGE

In the early part of this century Jacob Dunn studied the Miami language with Gabriel Godfroy. Godfroy was considered to be the best Miami interpreter in Indiana in the last quarter of the 19th century. Among other things Dunn learned that the Miami had no sound of "f," "r," or "v." They used a "p" sound where English uses the "f," and an "l" sound where we use "r." A good example of how this effected the pronunciation of a name is shown through the name of Gabriel's father. His father was a French half blood who had been given the French name, François. Because the Indians substituted "Pl" for the "Fr" they called him "Pah-lons'-wa."[7] The non-French settlers also avoided the French form of his name and called him by the English form, Francis.

### Tribal Affiliations

Today when people talk about Indians almost the first question that arises is "To what tribe did they belong?" But to the Indians, at least to the early ones, this was not a primary consideration. More often than not they lived in small family groups, and to the early Indians their family clan was more important than their tribe.

Before European contact the "tribe" was just a loose affiliation of several villages or wandering bands. The people from these groups shared a language, a territory, and a way of life. Some scholars say that the strong tribal feeling did not really come about until the conflicts with the whites forced the groups to band more closely together and to develop a greater sense of unity.[8]

For various reasons (trade, to end hostilities, to purchase land) the officials of the United States wanted to sign treaties with the chiefs of the tribes. This was not always an easy thing to do because within a tribe there was no such thing as a single chief. Each group had several chiefs, some for war and some for village or tribal governance. These rolls changed hands depending upon each person's achievements, or lack of them.[9] Treaties signed by one chief were not always honored by individuals who owed allegiance to another chief, even of the same tribe. And individual tribal affiliations could change when people from one tribe intermarried with those from another tribe.

The tribes themselves had a kinship with each other--a kinship which was very complex. For example, below is part of a speech delivered at Greenville, Ohio, in 1812. At this meeting the government commissioners had charged the Indians with violating a treaty signed at Fort Wayne in 1809. One of the speakers for the Indians was Captain Charley, an Eel River Miami chief. This is what he said:

> Father, at Fort Wayne, where again I heard you speak, when our grandfathers, the Delawares, were there, our brothers, the Shawnees and Pottawatomies, together with the Miamis, were invited to take a seat with you; it was at Fort Wayne where I heard you point out the lands where our younger brothers, the Weas, were settled, saying you wished to purchase those lands. I again consulted my grandfathers, the Delawares, who answered that whatever their grandfathers, the Pottawatomies, agreed to, they would acquiesce in. When you spoke, at that treaty, of the lands you wanted, we told you that these lands belonged to our younger brothers, the Weas, and to consult them, and if they were willing to sell it, that we would agree to the sale.[10]

As the reader can see, tribal relationships were complicated.

Lifestyles

Our culture is so familiar with the picture of the Indian of the Plains wearing his feathered war bonnet, sitting on his pony in front of his teepee, that it is easy to forget that not all Indians looked like that. Occasionally people have asked at the library for pictures of Indians and upon being shown pictures of the Woodland Indians they have said, "No, that's not what I want. I want a picture of a real

Indian." The Woodland Indians were every bit as real as the Indians of the Plains or the Indians of the Southwest--but they wore different clothing and lived a different life style.

The following three sections of this chapter were written for this book by Joyce Jones of Wingate, Indiana.

## PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

In general the Indians seemed to have been taller than the early settlers, averaging 5'8" to 5'10". Their bone structure was slightly finer than Europeans, and their muscles smoother and more graceful. They were slender waisted and had broad cheekbones and somewhat Roman noses. Often their foreheads were sloped, a deformity caused by the practice of lashing the babies' heads to cradle boards for an extended period of time.

Ear mutilation was very common and considered a great mark of beauty. The ear lobe rim was cut away from the rest of the ear and bound with wire to weight and stretch it. (See Fig. 23) Indians were fond of earrings and because of this mutilation technique they were able to wear as many as seventy to an ear. Pierced noses were also very common.

During times of peace the Indians often left their hair in a natural, untended state. But during times of war they would pluck out the hairs, leaving parts of the skull bald. There were two most usual styles. First, the front portion of the head was plucked until the hairline was approximately even with the ears. This allowed for easy application of painted decorations. The second style was to pluck all the hair on the head, leaving only a scalplock at the center point of the crown of the head. The scalplocks were left uncut and could sometimes be long enough to be braided, or were sometimes greased with bear grease to make them stand straight up. Sometimes the scalplocks were adorned with red or black feathers.

Body decorations were popular with the Woodland Indians and consisted of both body paint and tattoos. In early times the tattooing covered the entire body, but towards the end of the 18th century tattooing was generally limited to the face, head, and arms. The tattoos were made by rubbing charcoal or gunpowder into scratches or cuts made on the body. The Indians decorated themselves for feasts and other occasions, not only during times of war.[11]

Fig. 23. Payta Kootha, Shawnee
(Lithograph from painting by O. B. King, 1836.
Owned by the Montgomery County Historical Society.
Photograph by Joe Boswell)

Fig. 24. A Miami Chief
(Lithograph of painting by J. O. Lewis made at the 1827 Treaty of Missinewa. Owned by the Montgomery County Historical Society. Photograph by Joe Boswell)

## HOUSING

Usually the Indians of the Woodlands lived in wigwams, not in teepees. A wigwam was made by placing a series of poles in the ground, usually in a circle but for a larger structure the poles were placed in an oblong shape. The tops of the poles were bent over and tied together so that the hut became dome or cone-shaped. Other poles were tied to these, parallel to the ground, so that a framework was made over which bark, reed mats, or animal skins could be attached. A fire hole was built on the ground in the center of the wigwam and a smoke hole was left in the top of the hut. (Fig. 25) The larger structures, the ones built in an oblong shape, were called "long houses."

Wigwams made very cozy homes. Their main disadvantage was that they could not easily be taken down and then set up in another spot. However, wood was so plentiful that the Woodland Indians had no real need to take the frames of the wigwams with them as the Plains Indians had to do with their teepees. When they moved they just built another one at their next camp site. In fact, it must have been convenient to set up a wigwam during one season and find it there when they returned the next year.[12]

The summer villages looked deserted when the Indians were out hunting. This is mentioned in the writings of Sandford Cox:

> The rising sun on the morning of the 29th [of October, 1824] found us pursuing our journey. At about eight o'clock A.M. we arrived at Thorntown, once a large Indian and French village, which sent its hundreds of warriors to the battlefield. It is now deserted; or, rather, its inhabitants are all absent on a hunting expedition. Wigwams, composed of poles and bark, cover many acres of this beautiful and salubrious plain, on which Thorntown is situated.[13]

When the weather was nice and there was no need for a full shelter the Indians built simple three-sided lean-tos. (Fig. 25) The early settlers also used these quickly constructed lean-tos until they could get their log cabins built. This was probably the type of shelter which James Long made for his family as mentioned in the "John Green--A Bad Indian" story in Chapter 1.

Fig. 25. Village Scene: Wigwams, Lean-to, and Teepee
(Drawing by Mary Early Johnson)

## CLOTHING

The style of clothing worn by the different tribes east of the Mississippi River at the time of white contact by the early explorers varied only slightly from tribe to tribe.

Women wore wrap-around skin skirts that came to the knee or calf, held up by a belt or sash. These sashes were sometimes "fingerwoven" of buffalo or dog hair and plant fibers. The sides of the skirts just barely met so that the woman's bared thigh could be used as a surface on which to roll fibers into rope and twine. The women wore leggings that came up to their knees, and moccasins when necessary. Only when the weather turned cold did they wear anything above their waists; then they would add an animal skin worn as a cape.

Other times some women wore dresses which they made from two skins, one each for the front and back. These were simply tied together at the shoulders and then belted with a sash. In cold weather two more skins were added. These were joined at the wrist and the back of the neck, and lashed together in the front to form a cape-like garment with sleeves.

For special occasions, and perhaps for everyday wear too, women wore shell and bone necklaces and ear ornaments.

Men wore either a simple garment called a breechclout or breechcloth, or an apron. The Breechcloth was a narrow band of leather or cloth about four feet long. It was brought up between the legs and held to the body by a belt or sash, with each end, front and back, hanging over the belt like a flap. The aprons were simply large squares of material which were tied at the hips. Breechcloths and aprons were often decorated with fancy quill work, beaded embroidery, or fringe.

Men, too, wore leggings similar to the ones worn by the women. These were simple tubes of leather. Usually the leggings for the men were much longer, reaching up the thigh. They were held up by a strap of leather tied to the belt or sash. Sometimes long leggings were also tied at the knee, or at several places up and down the leg so they would fit tightly and not become entangled in the undergrowth of the forest. (Fig. 27)

When the weather turned very cold the men added blankets of rabbit skin or fur robes to keep warm, and they would stuff their moccasins with the down from cattail plants or with deer hair to keep their feet warm.

After about the age of ten children were dressed like adults except that their moccasins were usually made to look as though they were unfit for travel. This was to protect the children from being kidnapped by evil spirits, for it was believed that an evil spirit would never kidnap a child with holes in his moccasins. Before the age of ten children wore fur robes in cold weather but other than that they went naked.

Skins from small animals were used to make crude fur caps which were worn by both men and women in extremely cold weather, but in general the women wore nothing at all on their heads.

The most common headgear worn by a Woodland Indian man was the ceremonial "roach." It was made from the stiff hair of deer, porcupine, or moose. In most cases it was dyed red. It was attached to the head by a lock of the Indian's own hair which was pulled through a hole in the bottom of the roach.[14] (Fig. 26)

Fig. 26. Roach and Turban
(Drawing by Mary Early Johnson)

Fig. 27. Men and Women's Clothing
(From Indian Heritage Museum. Drawing by Mary Early Johnson)

Once the Indians began trading goods with the Europeans their styles of clothing changed. They absorbed more and more the European style of clothing. They now had at their disposal articles of clothing such as trousers, skirts, coats, and blouses. (Fig. 27) Although they had had access to cotton before their contact with the Europeans (it came up by the trade routes from Mexico), they now used various kinds of cloth including broadcloth, calico, velvet, and silk. They acquired metal awls, steel needles, scissors, brass thimbles, and linen thread. Using these tools on cloth made sewing much easier than it had been when they were working with bone needles and animal sinew or thread made from plant fibers, on skins. It allowed them to develop their already considerable skills of decoration into a fine art.

Previous to the contact with Europeans the Indian women had decorated garments with beads made from shells, and quills, from porcupine and bird feathers. Quillwork required great technical skill and unlimited patience. The women flatted the quills by holding one end firmly between their teeth, pressing the edge of the thumbnail against the quill held by the forefinger they drew it tightly along the length of the quill. They repeated the process until the quill became smooth and flat. The quills were then attached to the object to be decorated by drawing the sharp point through a small hole in the skin or bark. An end of the quill was left at the back and bent close to the skin or bark to serve as a fastening, like a knot on a thread. Another hole was made, perpendicular to the first, and through this the quill was passed to the back, thus making the stitch. All designs in quillwork were made up of wide or narrow lines, each composed of a series of upright stitches lying close together. This meant that most of the designs in quillwork were geometric in nature--although stylized birds, animals and flowers were made by the more skillful quillworkers.[15]

The beads were made primarily from shells, but bones, teeth, stones, seeds, and some metals were also used. A great deal of time and skill were spent in collecting the materials; cutting, grinding, and rolling them into shape, to say nothing of drilling holes through each one. The designs used for early beadwork were again primarily geometric. It was not unusual for a woman to have many patterns for designs in her workbag. These were handed down from mother to daughter and traded between tribes at ceremonial functions.[16]

The beads were used as money in trade between the tribes

and with the early Dutch and English colonists. They were called "wampum," a contraction of the Algonquian word for a string of shell beads, "wampumpeak" or "wamponeage."[17] Frequently, when the Indians wanted to record a treaty or tell a story, they would weave a wampum belt which told in pictures what they wanted to remember.[18] More often wampum belts were used just as clothing.

It is understandable that the Indians were happy to acquire glass beads, buttons, silver ornaments, and tropical bird feathers, as well as lace, and silk ribbons to use for the decorative work which they had previously done in quills and shells.

The Woodland Indians who came into contact with the French missionaries in Canada were interested in the floral embroidery work on the ecclesiastical garments. The French nuns taught the women how to do applique embroidery and from this developed the beautiful floral designs which became characteristic of later Woodland dress.[19]

The Montgomery County Historical Society has on display a wampum belt which was given to Henry S. Lane when he was a member of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners and a beaded purse which John Remley brought with him when he came to Montgomery County in 1825.[20] (Fig. 28)

Often the Indians adapted the trade goods to their own purposes--which were not always the same purposes for which they had been originally intended. For example, they traded animal skins for blankets but they didn't always use the blankets as blankets. Often they unraveled them and used the threads to make fingerwoven sashes. These sashes were very popular with both the Indians and the French traders or voyagers and were often used by the Indians to make colorful turbans.[21] (Fig. 27)

By 1837, when the artist George Winter first saw the Potawatomi in Logansport, he said "It would be an endless task to go into the minutiae of dress, as it is so various among them."[22] Although he did not leave a verbal description of the costumes he did leave his paintings and journals. These record the Potawatomis' way of life at the time of their removal from Indiana before they were absorbed into other tribes and into the white culture.

Fig. 28. Beadwork Items from Lane Place:
Moccasins, Wampum Belt, and Purse
(Photographs by Mary Early Johnson)

Today, if you meet a descendant of any of the Woodland tribes on the street, chances are you won't recognize him or her as being Indian. Modern Indians will probably be wearing the latest designer jeans, shirts, and tennis shoes. It is only when you go to the festivals and pow wows that you may see the Indians wearing their finest tribal costumes. In our area the pow wow held at Battleground, Lafayette's "Feast of the Hunters' Moon," and Thorntown's "Festival of the Turning Leaves" all offer opportunities for one to see the various styles of Indian dress and re-creations of early life styles. The Indian Heritage Museum in Indianapolis's Eagle Creek Park has an excellent display of Woodland clothing.[23]

Joyce Jones, Wingate, 1984

## DAILY LIFE OF THE EARLY SHAWNEES

The information in this section was written by Henry Harvey in 1855. Harvey was a Quaker missionary working with the Shawnee Indians at Wapakoneta, Ohio, 1830-1832. This account of "the manner in which they spent their time, through the various seasons of the year" was compiled by Harvey "partly from a very early knowledge of this people's manners and customs, and partly from accounts received by conversing with the older Indians."[24] It is typical of the life style of the Woodland Indians in general.

> Through the warm season of the year, they [the Shawnee Indians] would remain about home, and would raise considerable quantities of corn and beans--all the labor being performed by the women and children, who had not only to plant and tend it, but to watch the ponies off, as they had no fences in these times. The men would lounge about during the summer, when the weather was warm and the skins and furs not fit for market; sometimes, when hunger drove them away from their shades, they would employ themselves in catching fish, and now and then sally off to the woods and kill a deer, as such animals were plenty then. By the time fall would arrive they would have their corn all used up, as these people never, in the state in which they lived while uncultivated, try to lay up in store beforehand; what they have to-day, if they need it they use it, if it was the last bite they had. Nothing is too costly or too good to set before a friend--what one has is freely set before another--and in this way all they have is soon entirely consumed, as they feast almost continually, when they have anything to feast one another

with.

In the fall season they nearly all commence preparing for their winter's hunt. When about to set off, the whole family, men, women and children, together with their dogs, (of which they always have a large supply,) cats, and all, with all their ponies, of which they keep in great numbers, with as much of their furniture as they can conveniently carry, generally consisting of several brass or copper kettles, some wooden ladles, bowls, and large spoons, a tomahawk, and each one a large butcher-knife. Thus equipped, the whole company set off for the lonely woods. I have seen many of these companies moving off in cold weather, among whom were to be seen the aged, gray-headed grandmother, the anxious, careworn, and nearly forlorn mother with her half-naked children, and often a little infant on her back, fastened to a board or wrapped in her blanket and held to her back, with its little naked head to the cold wind over its mother's shoulders; the whole company headed by the nimble-footed, stout-hearted warrior, with his blanket drawn close around his body, a handkerchief curiously twisted to a knot on his head, with his gun on his shoulder and gun-stick in his hand, his tomahawk in his belt, which is so constructed that the poll is his pipe and the handle the stem, and he carries his tobacco in the skin of some little animal, often the polecat skin.

When they arrive at the place of destination, they erect a tent of sufficient size to afford room for the whole family to lodge in. This tent [wigwam] is made of small poles, with the large end stuck in the ground and the small ends lashed together at top, and then the skins of animals, which they have killed, are stretched over the poles, so that the upper ones lap over the under ones and thus turn off the rain and snow as well as boards. In the middle of this tent they build their fire, the smoke ascends through an opening in the top, left for that purpose. In the tent are spread their skins, on which they repose; all lie down together and cover themselves with their blankets, which each one always has if it is in their power, they being of great benefit both by night and day. Indeed they are seldom seen without them, using them for cover at night and wrapper by day; they use them while out hunting and when attending their fashionable parties, of which they are extremely fond and have often, on which occasion they put on their finest beads, belts,

ribbons, and the like paraphernalia, and over all the rest of the body goes the blanket, if cleaned well, if not, it is at once cleaned. If they are furnished with anything in the way of provision, the blanket is at once removed from their shoulders, and whatever they have to carry home is wrapped in it; indeed so natural is it to see an Indian with his blanket about him, that one would almost conclude that it was actually a part and parcel of the Indian. There are a few things sure to be seen in an Indian's possession, unless very poor indeed; these are a poney [sic], a gun, tomahawk, a dog, butcher knife, and blanket. These things are his outfit, and if thus furnished, he is not considered a very poor man by his people.

When thus settled on their intended hunting-grounds, the men sally forth in quest of game, and if any is to be found, they do not fail to bring it down with their rifles. When the game is killed it is hung up in the woods out of the reach of the wolves, then the hunter pushes on in quest of more, and often continues his hunt for several days before returning to the camp. Having secured a quantity in this way, he returns to the camp with what he can carry, remains all night with his family and feasts on what he has thus provided. When rested from his excursion and sees his family supplied with food, he sets off with his pony in quest of what game he has secured over the woods, and so thoroughly are these people acquainted with the woods that an Indian hunter can find all the game he has hanging over the hunting-ground, for miles in extent in every direction; and so honest are they, that no Indian will interrupt what he finds hanging up which others have killed. When the hunter returns to the camp with his game, he gives all into the hands of the women and children, who take care of the skins and furs in the neatest manner, and then slice the best of the venison up in long thin slices to dry, except the hams, which they dry before the fire for trade; and such bony parts as they cannot cure to advantage, they boil in their kettles, and upon that and the soup, they feast bountifully, and then the hunter resumes his regular chase, for several days together, through the whole winter, or until the skins and furs become unfit for market, and that is toward the last of February; then they return to their homes.

When the season for hunting deer closes, the trapping

season opens; those of the Indians, who chased the deer and trapped the vermin--and nearly all the Shawnees did, who lived near Wapaughkonnetta--if they returned at all from the winter hunt, would set out in the same way again. This branch of their business was conducted in the following manner. As soon as the season arrives for frogs to come out, which are the principal food of the raccoon, and as they live in and about the ponds of water which abound in that country where these animals inhabit, the raccoons are ever in quest of them and frequent those places, and not being a water-animal, they have to resort to stratagem, hence they traverse every log, that lopps in or about the water, in order to reach their prey. The Indians, being accustomed to this, resort to stratagem too, in order to take their prey. This they do after the following manner. Immediately across one of these logs that lies furthest in the water, they place a long straight pole, and directly over this, and lengthwise with it, is laid another and stakes firmly driven on each side, so that the upper one will fall directly on the under one and fit it to exactness; the upper pole is then raised at the upper end, and curiously suspended by triggers arranged so that, when the animal is traversing the log in quest of his hidden prey, in crossing the pole on the log he comes directly in contact with the thread, made of sinews from the deer, hanging by these triggers, when the upper pole by the movement of the animal, is let loose; then the game is instantly secured safe for the new owner until he comes his daily rounds to his traps in search of his well-earned victim, which is taken out and the trap again set in readiness for the next evening intruder. The game, thus taken, is lashed on the pony and carried the rounds of the traps and to the camp, where he is stripped of his soft, warm covering, and well spread out on sticks and hung up to dry by the tent, in care of the squaws, while his body is dressed and hung up by an Indian fire until it is well roasted, when the happy beings divide and eat the flesh, and the dogs devour the bones, and thus are supplied their insatiate appetites, and this ends the ceremonies of the feast. But such is their inclination to the golden rule, that if one should find the trap of another, he would not plunder and rob it, but would quietly remove the game carefully, hang it in a bush near by, and set the trap again for the accommodation of his neighbor. Thus we see their honesty exhibited and adhered to in every instance of their pursuits.[26]

If the reader knows the writings of William L. Anderson then some of the above may have sounded familiar for Anderson used material from Harvey's book in the articles he wrote for the Ladoga Leader in 1922.[26]

## BOW AND ARROW SKILLS OF THE INDIANS

Maurice Thompson was a prominent literary figure of the last quarter of the Nineteenth century. He and his brother, Will, moved to Crawfordsville around 1870. Both were avid outdoorsmen with a knowledge of botany and zoology. They were also enthusiastic archers. A series of articles by Maurice, published in the Atlantic Monthly in 1873, created a nation-wide craze for the sport of archery. He followed this with The Witchery of Archery--a Complete Manual of Archery with Many Chapters of Adventure by Field and Flood, etc., published in 1875.[27] It was natural that Maurice should have been interested in the Indians' use of bows and arrows. The following is taken from his book, Stories of Indiana.

> All accounts written by the priests and other explorers agree that the Indians were a stalwart, brave, and hardy people, possessing just the order and degree of intelligence, and just the animal strength of body to make them almost perfect woodsmen, hunters, warriors--men admirably suited to the exposures, dangers, and physical strain of savage life. . . .
>
> The French missionary priests were very successful in gaining the respect and confidential friendship of the Indians, so that we may, as a rule, accept their descriptions of savage life as reasonably accurate. But upon one point, at least, due caution must be applied. For example, Father Sebastien Rasles . . . [writing in 1723] says, speaking of Indian weapons and their use,--"Arrows are the principal arms which they use in war and in the chase. They are pointed at the end with a stone cut and sharpened in the shape of a serpent's tongue; and if no knife is at hand, they use them also to skin the animals they have killed. They are so skillful in using the bow that they scarcely ever fail in their aim, and they do it with so much quickness that they can discharge a hundred arrows in the time another person would use loading his gun." The reader will note what we have italicized [underlined], and accept the statements with liberal use of salt; they are due to a vivid French imagination.

That the Indians were fairly good archers at short range is beyond question; but their weapons were too crude for such accuracy of execution with them as is implied in Father Rasles's sweeping statement. There is a law governing the action of projectiles which applies to the bow and arrows; it is the law which makes it absolutely impossible to do accurate shooting with imperfect weapons, no matter what the experience and skill of the archer. . . . This has been demonstrated by centuries of enlightened experimenting in England conducted by the best bowmakers and archers in the world. Romance is entertaining, delightful in its place; but history must tell the very truth, and what is, by the clearest demonstration of science, impossible, cannot be true. Therefore, whenever and whereever we see it soberly stated that an Indian archer could hit a silver dime almost every shot at a distance of thirty or forty yards, we must know that the writer is mistaken--the Indian bowman could not and did not do it. [See "Heep Good Times" in Chapter 1.] Such a feat is almost impossible to the finest marksmen with guns of practically absolute accuracy. Not one expert rifleman in a thousand can hit a silver dollar offhand at forty yards with an average of three shots out of five. . . .

Still, the fact remains that American savages were, all things considered, marvelous archers. They were, moreover, incomparably sly, cunning, light-footed, and resourceful in pursuit of game. It was necessary for them to shoot at short range in order to be reasonably sure of their aim, so they had to steal upon the wild things that they wished to kill. With amazing delicacy of sight they could track a turkey, a grouse, or a hare by observing impressions and signs not visible to ordinary eyes, just as readily as they could follow the heavy trail of a buffalo or the sharp hoofprints of a deer. And so light was the fall of their moccasin-shod feet, so sly their slipping between the tufts of underbrush, so great their knack of keeping always under cover of tree, or grass, or foliage, that even the most watchful bird or beast would be approached unawares.

The best Indian bows were made of mulberry, sassafras, cedar, ash, or hickory; but the last-named wood, though tough and strong, is not springy enough, and is too apt to lose its power of recoil. Arrows were made of any strong, stiff wood. They were pointed with stone, horn,

bone, and the like. Even the lower mandible of the kingfisher, the crane, the heron, and other birds having sharp bills, was used for pointing light shafts. Near the end opposite the point, about two inches from the notch for the string, three feather vanes were set upon the arrow and fastened there with fine threads of rawhide or fibers of animal tendons. The shaft was made as straight and even and smooth as the utensils and skill of the savage workmen would serve them to accomplish, and some of the arrows still preserved from those old days are fairly good ones. The Indian bows, however, were nearly all of inferior workmanship, form, and power. They were short, as compared with the English longbow, flat, and of very limited draw; but in the hands of a burly Indian archer they no doubt shot with great force at short range.

Thus armed, . . . our savage hunter glided warily and silently through the thick woods, or crept in the tall prairie grass, or lay in wait hidden and alert beside some spot where beast or bird was in the habit of feeding. He knew every sound, every sign by which to foretell the movements of his game, and every precaution necessary to forestall each kind in its turn. He could not afford to lose many arrows. They were too hard to make for mere wasting, so he had no thought of shooting for idle sport, but reserved his shaft until he felt that circumstances all favored the chance of hitting what he shot at.

Many years ago, when Indiana was yet a region very little known to white men, a hunter and trapper by the name of Sylvester Rowe came into the southeastern part of it in pursuit of his vocation. From him was obtained the following outline of how an Indian archer killed a bird. It is given in substance, but not in his words exactly:--

> The white man was lying, near noontime of a hot August day, on a little bluff overlooking a small stream and a wide grassy marsh in which there was a shallow pond. He was resting in the shade of a low tree, eating his luncheon of parched corn and venison, when he chanced to see something moving slowly like a shadow in the marsh grass. A careful gaze showed him that the object was an Indian boy, or youth, sixteen or eighteen years old, who, bow and arrow in hand, was creeping towards a duck that sat quite still on the water at the edge of the pond. There was ugly black mud

all over the marsh, and into this the Indian's feet sank deep at each stealthy step. He was stooping very low in order that the grass might hide his movements, and he scarcely seemed to shake the stems and blades as he glided noiselessly along. Evidently the duck was quite unsuspicious of danger. Nearer and nearer the archer crept, until the coveted game was but ten or fifteen yards distant; then, drawing his arrow to the head, he let drive, hitting the duck through the body at the butts of the wings and killing it almost instantly. Now the whole manner of the young savage changed in a second. He bounded forward, seized his victim, and then ran away with it at full speed, until lost to view in the dark wood beyond the marsh.

The Indian archer always carried his arrows in a quiver made usually of skin, but sometimes of tough bark; this was slung at his back or side, and was large enough to hold from ten to twenty arrows. The feathers used for making the vanes on the shafts were taken from the wings of wild geese, turkeys, eagles, vultures, and herons, for which reason these birds were much sought after.

Boys from infancy were taught the use of weapons; but their arrows were pointed with heavy wood instead of stone or bone. They were able to kill small birds; and in the clear water of shallow streams they waded and shot fish, . . . sometimes eating them raw.[28]

Fig. 29. Indian Hunter Stalking a Duck
(Maurice Thompson, Stories of Indiana, 1898, p. 29.)

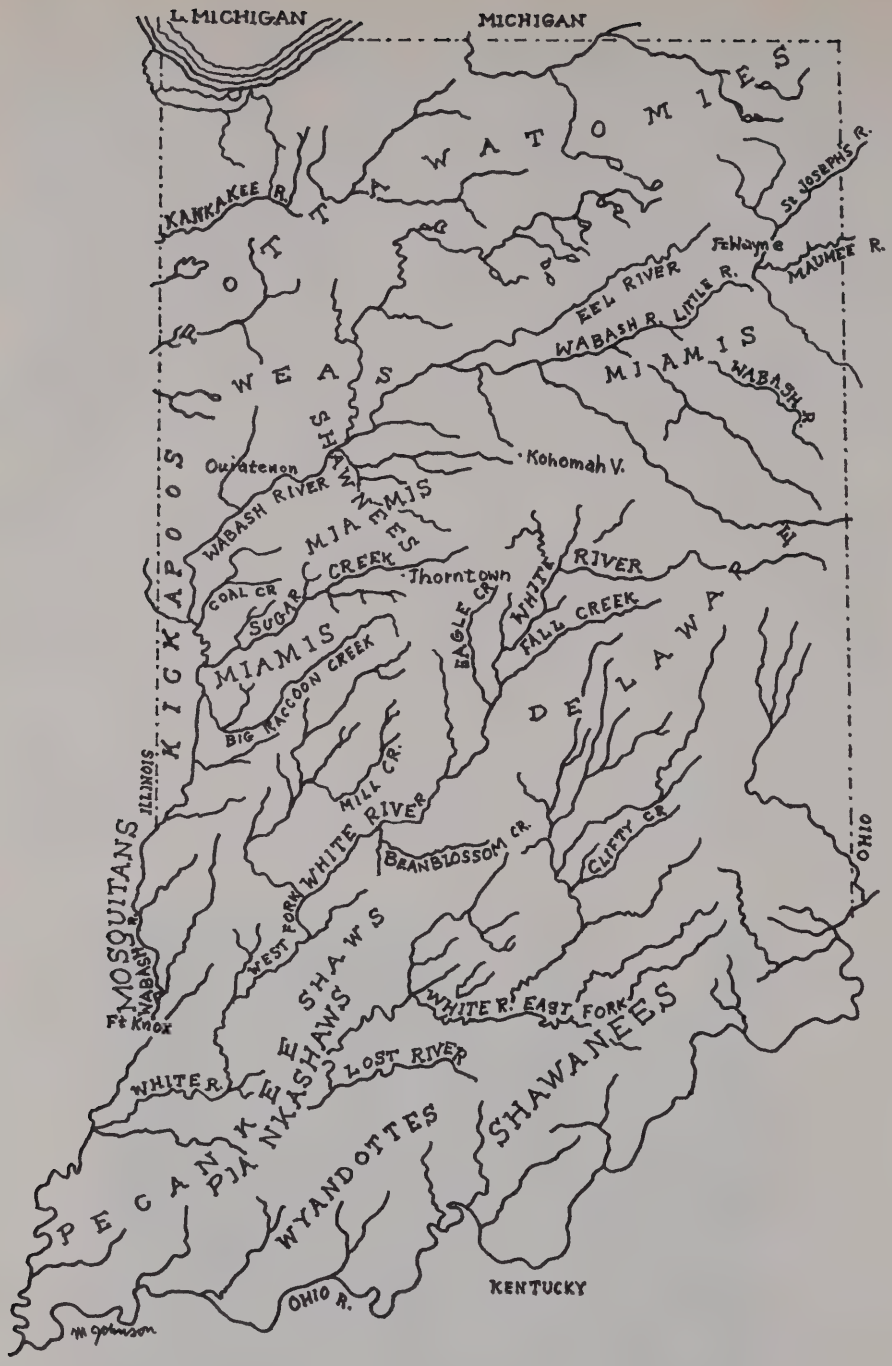



Fig. 30. 18th Century Indians in Indiana's Territory
(Drawing by Mary Early Johnson
from the State Geological Report, 1882)

## Chapter 6: Indians of Indiana

### Six of the Indiana Tribes

For many years the foremost authority on the historic Indians of Indiana was Erminie Wheeler Voegelin. Although her article, "Indians of Indiana," was written in 1941 it is still considered to be a good overview of the history of the tribes in Indiana. The information in this chapter has been taken from it and from her Miami, Wea, and Eel River Indians of Southern Indiana (1974). Only passages covering the tribes which are thought to have frequented the Montgomery County area have been included.[1]

#### THE MIAMI, WEA, AND PIANKESHAW

Of the historic tribes which moved into Indiana, the Miami and two closely related groups, the Wea and the Piankeshaw, occupy a foremost place. The early locations and movements of this unit will therefore be given first consideration.

In 1680 the Miami were located on the St. Joseph river of Lake Michigan, in the extreme northwestern part of Indiana, and also in the vicinity of Chicago. During the early decades of the eighteenth century the Miami proper occupied the country north and northwest of the upper Wabash. The Wea and Piankeshaw were located farther down on the same river, around Ouiatenon and at the mouth of the Vermillion river near Vincennes, respectively.

From their location northwest of the Wabash the Miami gradually moved east in Indiana. Kekionga (now Fort Wayne), at the junction of the Maumee and St. Joseph rivers, became their principal town. During the middle part of the eighteenth century the Miami removed even farther eastward and established towns in northwestern Ohio, but after 1763 they abandoned these Ohio settlements and moved back into northeastern Indiana, where they remained until many of them sold their land and removed west of the Mississippi, around 1827. One band occupied a reservation in Wabash county, Indiana, until 1872, when the land was divided among the 300 members. The Wea and Piankeshaw removed to the west from the villages near the Wabash at intervals between 1800 and 1832; in 1820 the Wea sold their last lands in Indiana, at the mouth of Raccoon creek, in Parke County.

The Miami, Wea, and Piankeshaw were tribal and dialect

units: all three spoke one mutually intelligible language. In 1825 C. C. Trowbridge was told by a Miami informant that the Miami could understand perfectly the speech of the Wea and Piankeshaw, as well as that of two neighboring Illinois groups, the Kaskaskia and Peoria.[2]

## THE EEL RIVER MIAMI

The origin of the Miami-Wea-Piankeshaw-speaking group referred to after 1765 as "Eel Rivers" or "Eel River Indians" is obscure, but the existence of such a group, living in a village six miles up Eel River, was reliably attested in 1765. By 1778 the Eel Rivers' village was at the junction of the Eel and Wabash rivers. From this latter location Eel River chiefs went to Detroit to confer with British officials, and Eel River warriors went southward to raid American frontier posts, during the 1770's and 1780's. In August of 1791 Kenapaquomaqua, the Eel River village which lay "scattered along Eel River for full three miles," was destroyed by American troops. Shortly afterward, in 1792, the Eel River Indians made nominal peace with the Americans, although some Eel Rivers continued to engage in anti-American hostilities through 1794. By 1795 the Eel Rivers had deserted their river; then, or later, this group removed to the upper Sugar Creek, in Boone county, Indiana, where we know they had a village [Kawiakungi, Thorntown] in 1818. Ten years later this village and its adjoining lands were sold to the United States and the Eel Rivers moved back to their old location near present Logansport, Indiana, at the mouth of Eel River. They remained from 1828 onward.

The number of Eel River Indians was never very large. Croghan referred to the Eel River village in 1767 as "small," and in 1778 the Eel River Indians themselves told Hamilton that their "small numbers did not admit of sending off many warriors" to help re-take Vincennes. Ten years later, in 1788, Hamtramck estimated the Eel Rivers had 150 warriors, which made their total population some 600 souls. In 1851 there were 16 Eel River Indians living in Indiana, and three living west of the Mississippi, making a total of 19 known Eel River Indians.[3]

The relatively small size of the Eel River group, plus the fact that this group lived on the Wabash between two larger groups, the Miami, and the Weas, and resembled these two groups in language and culture probably

accounts for three observers having identified the Eel Rivers mistakenly as "Miamis" . . . and as "Wiachtenoos [Weas]". . . . That the Eel Rivers were, however, a group apart from either the Miamis or the Weas is indicated 1) by frequent references to the Eel Rivers as a separate entity on the part of various eighteenth-century observers . . . and 2) by acts and statements, and by admissions of the Eel Rivers and Miamis respectively, during the first half of the nineteenth century. These acts, admissions, etc., were, briefly, as follows:

a) In 1828 the Eel Rivers, alone, ceded their reservation on Sugar Creek [Thorntown] to the United States, despite the agreement they, the Miamis and the Weas had entered into at the Treaty of Grouseland of August 21, 1805, whereby all three groups were to be considered and treated with as one "nation."

b) In 1847 the Eel Rivers, faced with removal to the West as "Miamis," declared they were not Miamis, and thus not obligated to remove West. Their protest was upheld in a court action and they were not removed to the West.

c) In an 1848-51 annuity dispute between the Eel Rivers and the Miamis, the Eel Rivers maintained that since they were a group separate from the Miamis, their annuities should be paid directly to them and not included in the Miamis' annuities. The separateness of the Eel Rivers and Miamis was admitted to by several Miamis during an official investigation of this dispute, and in 1851 Congress ruled that the Eel Rivers should receive their annuities separately, and made the ruling retroactive to 1838.

d) When the Eel River Indians' annuities were commuted in 1888, they were commuted separately, several years before the Miamis' annuities were commuted.

. . . [Thus] we conclude that from first notice of the Eel Rivers in 1765 onward through the nineteenth century, the Eel Rivers were an autonomous native group. Small in numbers, living between the Miamis and Weas, and similar in speech and customs to these latter peoples, the Eel Rivers were occasionally misrepresented during the eighteenth century as "Miamis" or "Weas." Much more often, however, they were accurately referred to as a separate group, politically independent of either the Miamis or the Weas.[4]

By 1788 some Shawnee were living in northeastern Indiana, while others were beginning to roam through southern Indiana. Kakinathucca's band, probably belonging to the Pekowi division of the Shawnee tribe, was in April, 1788, hunting and making sugar at a winter camp in the extreme southeastern part of the state. Thomas Ridout, an English captive with this band, states that eastern Indiana was a hunting place for this group of "Shawanese Indians" who, up to 1787 had been living on the Scioto river. After they had finished their sugar-making in the spring of 1788 members of the band removed westward across the southern part of the state to a location below Vincennes, near the junction of the Wabash and White rivers, where the women planted their crops. From that spot Kakinathucca and his people continued their trek north along the Wabash to Fort Miami (Fort Wayne). Ridout mentions two Shawnee chiefs, Blue Jacket, a white captive who spent his life with the Shawnee, and the Great Snake, as living a mile or two distant from Fort Miami. Henry Hay, who was at Miamitown (Fort Wayne) a year later, also refers to Blue Jacket, the Great Snake, and a "Chilicothe Village" of Shawnee, of which "Black Bairde" was chief. In the closing decade of the eighteenth century then, part of the Shawnee had removed from northeastern [northwestern] Ohio to villages in the vicinity of Fort Wayne, while other Shawnee were in southern Indiana, and still others in east-central Indiana. Of these latter we know that there were some on the White river, where they had moved from Ohio in 1798 by invitation of the Delaware, and another group, totalling 500 persons, which in 1816 was living 40 miles north of the White river, in a town on the Mississinewa, a branch of the Wabash.

It was in a White river settlement that the Shawnee Prophet had the vision which caused him to begin preaching among the central woodland tribes for a return to their native mode of life and the espousal of his brother's, Tecumseh's, cause. The Prophet gained many followers, but few of the Shawnee were won over to his cause. In 1808 he moved to the Wabash after a brief stay in Greenville, Ohio, and established a town near the mouth of Tippecanoe creek. The Kickapoo and Potawatomi were then in western Indiana, and many of them became converts to the Prophet's cause. After the battle of Tippecanoe in 1811 the Prophet and his band left Indiana and lived for several years at Fort Malden, at the mouth of [the]

Detroit river on the Ontario side.

The Shawnee at Fort Wayne and those on the White and Mississinewa rivers moved from Indiana, westward across the Mississippi, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1832-33 Shawnee from Wapakoneta and Lewistown, Ohio, journeyed across Indiana on their way west to join their fellow tribesmen in Kansas.[5]

## THE POTAWATOMI

After 1765 the Potawatomi gradually spread south into southern Michigan and in 1795 they notified the Miami that they intended to move farther south into Indiana. This they did in spite of Miami protests. Around the close of the century numerous bands of Potawatomi had established villages in the northern part of the state, from the Kankakee river region eastward. Other groups of Potawatomi settled in Illinois. The bands in Indiana around the headwaters of Tippecanoe river were known as the "Potawatomi of the Wabash." These bands sold their reserves in Indiana in 1836 and agreed to remove west across the Mississippi within two years. Many of the Potawatomi in Indiana refused, however, to leave their homes until they were driven out by military force in 1838.[6]

With the Potawatomi ended the migration of Indian groups to Indiana, for at the same time the Potawatomi were moving into the state, white settlers were beginning to cut down the forests and establish homes in the region.

Within two decades after the entrance of the Potawatomi the issue as to which group, Indian or white, would possess the state had been settled. By 1838, the year the last Potawatomi group was forcibly removed, Indiana was virtually cleared of its Indian population save for a few Miami, the most persistent of the Indiana tribes.[7]

# SECTION III

## The Quest for the Historical Peter

## Chapter 7: Will the Real Peter Cornstalk Please Stand Up!

### The Contestants

> "My name is Peter Cornstalk. I was a Miami [Wea, Eel River/Snake Fish] Indian who lived in the Montgomery County, Indiana, area at the time of white settlement."[1]

> "My name is Peter Cornstalk. I was a Shawnee Indian who lived in the Montgomery County, Indiana, area at the time of white settlement."[2]

> "My name is Peter Cornstalk. I was a Potowatomi Indian who lived in the Montgomery County, Indiana, area at the time of white settlement."[3]

All of the above claims have been made in the name of Peter Cornstalk by people who have lived in this county. Unfortunately they are all based on what one might call "hearsay evidence." If any of the early settlers ever asked Peter, "To what tribe do you belong?" they did not record it in a source we have been able to find.

This chapter will present the roots of the three claims as I have been able to track them down and will examine each claim in the light of the historical documentation which Emmy Peebles and I have gathered. Then one of the above contestants will be declared the winner. The reader who does not wish to follow along with the details of the search may skip to page 167 to find out who the winner is--but you will be missing a lot of interesting history.

### PETER THE POTAWATOMI

To the best of my knowledge there is only one source for the claim that Peter was a Potawatomi: an essay written by June Brookshire in 1924. In it June recounted stories passed down to her from her great grandmother, Sarah Brookshire. Even though her essay was a prize winner in the Crawfordsville Journal's Historical Contest[4] the question must still be asked, how reliable were the stories?

Information found in the Local History Room of the Crawfordsville District Public Library identifies Sarah as having been Mrs. Swan Brookshire. Her maiden name was Harrison. She

was a younger sister to Allen Harrison whom we have mentioned before. In 1828 her father, Robert, came to Montgomery County and entered land in Scott Township (Sec. 23) about a mile from the most widely accepted site of the Cornstalk village. He then returned to Kentucky to collect his family. This was probably when Sarah was eleven.[5] From Sarah's own story we know that she never saw an Indian until the Indians were "moving away." (See "A Sad Homecoming" in Chapter 1.) Obviously she did not have much contact with them. This, plus the fact that as far as we know Allen never said that the Cornstalks were Potawatomis and the fact that the name "Cornstalk" does not show up as Potawatomi in any of the historical documents we have examined, leads us to believe that the Potawatomi identification was a simple mistake, the kind of thing which happens in the transmission of oral history. Therefore we have discounted it as a viable option. Peter the Potawatomi may sit down.

## PETER THE SHAWNEE

Tracing the claim that our Peter was a Shawnee is a much more complicated matter. I will state the scenario as I think it developed. Not all the scenes or characters may be present, but based on what I have found this is how I think the local claim was born and flourished.

At some date, probably between 1881 and 1904, a man arrived in Montgomery County who said he was Peter Cornstalk's nephew. We have two sources to confirm this appearance.

According to the minutes of the eighteenth annual Harshbarger/Anderson reunion held on August 26, 1904, "Mr. Henry from Indianapolis who is related to the Cornstalk Indians" gave a speech.[6] Unfortunately, that is all the minutes tell us. No report of the reunion appeared in the Ladoga paper and only a short announcement of the reunion, but no mention of Mr. Henry, or his speech in the Crawfordsville paper.

Later, in 1922, William Anderson wrote a series of newspaper articles about the Cornstalks. In one article he wrote:

> Some years ago a Mr. Henry came to my house. He had the general appearance of an Indian. He told me he was here to find what he could about the Cornstalk Indians. He said he was a son of Peter Cornstalk's sister and was born at Piqua, Ohio. He told a long story of how the

> Shawnee were driven westward by the whites and how the Cornstalk band came here. But I was so ignorant on the subject that I failed to understand all he said. He was with me part of two days and visited the site of Cornstalk town and sat a long while under a tree and wrote a book.[7]

It is difficult to tell whether these reports represent one visit or two. If the two day visit took place before the reunion, why didn't Anderson, who was secretary of the reunion and wrote the minutes, tell us more about Mr. Henry at that time? If the two day visit took place at the same time, or later, why didn't Anderson mention Henry's presence at the reunion when he wrote the 1922 articles?

Be that as it may, that is all we know about Mr. Henry.[8] However, his visit(s) made a lasting impression. I think it was because of Mr. Henry that the Peter the Shawnee claim was started in Montgomery County.

I am led to believe this because Anderson himself wrote that when he inquired about the Cornstalk Indians from his normal sources--e.g., Allen Harrison and the other old settlers--he found that "When they came and who Peter Cornstalk was and what became of him no one seemed to know or care."[10] Yet, when Anderson published his Early History of Ladoga, around 1912, he stated,

> Most of the Indians in Western Indiana at this time were Miamas [sic], but those in this immediate vicinity were Shawnees, and of that particular family known as Cornstock Indians. At Point Pleasant in Virginia, three hundred miles East of here, was fought one of the most obstinate and closely contested battles ever had with the Indians. Although there was a number of famous chiefs present, the forces were led by the great chief Cornstalk. After the battle about fifteen hundred of the Indians followed his fortunes and took his name. This battle took place in 1774, from which time these Indians drifted westward and were found on the headwaters of Sugar Creek and Rancoon [sic] when the whites came here and were under Peter Cornstalk, supposed to be the son of the old chief.[9]

How did he know this? Anderson did not give us a source for his information (a perpetual problem for researchers when dealing with local historians). My guess is that he published

what he remembered from Mr. Henry's visit.

Time passed. The year 1916 arrived and with it the centennial celebration of Indiana's statehood. Montgomery County went all out and presented a most glorious pageant. The third scene was this:

Scene 3--The Decree of the White Man

> With the victory of George Rogers Clark over the British at Fort Vincennes began the series of successful wars against the Indians by the Americans. These reached a glorious conclusion in the Battle of Tippecanoe. In treaty after treaty the Indians had to yield their lands to the oncoming white men. Scene 3 brings together in a final council of despair at Indian Ford the representatives of the four tribes who lived and hunted and fought in this part of the Wabash country. From the north comes Chief Vokanomik with his We-as. From the west enters Chief Elenipsico with the Plum Orchards. From their home in Scott township come the Shawnees, headed by their chief, Peter Cornstalk. Finally from the east enters Chief Thorn with his tribe of the Miamis. . . . After Chief Thorn has lighted the council pipe and passed it to the others, he announces the subject of the council, the great treaty of the New Purchase. Shall they revolt or shall they depart in exile across the Fathers of Waters? They decide to bury the hatchet and move into the land of the setting sun.[11]

This may have been good drama--the newspapers were filled with requests for the performances to be extended so that those who had missed it could see this wonderful spectacle, and the State Historical Society presented the creators with a special commendation--but it wasn't good history. A bit too much dramatic license was involved in it, at least in this particular scene. Two out of the four chiefs gathered at this meeting were fictional, and the representation of the two who had been historical figures was irresponsibly inaccurate.

Chief Vokanomik was a character out of Caroline Krout's _On the We-a Trail_ and in the novel he was a chief of the Puans, not the Weas.[12]

I have not found any evidence that "Chief Thorn" was an actual person. My guess is that the writers extracted the

name from "Thorntown," reasoning that if Cornstalktown was named after Chief Cornstalk, then Thorntown must have been named after Chief Thorn. Wrong. "Thorntown" was derived from the English translation of the Indian name of the former village, "Kawiakungi," or "Keewaskee," meaning "place of the thorns."[13]

Elenipsico had been a real Indian, a son of the famous Shawnee Chief Cornstalk. But Elenipsico was killed at Fort Randolph in 1777, long before this council meeting which was set at the time of the "New Purchase," in 1818.[14] If the writers wanted to ignore the dates they should at least have let Elenipsico be a Shawnee for, as was stated earlier, it is doubtful that the Plum Orchards ever existed outside the imaginations of the pageant writers.

There is no question that Peter Cornstalk was also real but one must wonder, if the creators of the pageant were so lackadaisical about their historical accuracy with regard to the other Indians, does Peter the Shawnee's presence in the pageant give us historical proof that Montgomery County's Peter really was a Shawnee? Obviously the answer is "No."

No one complained, at least not through the newspapers, that the scene was historically inaccurate, therefore it went unquestioned. Undoubtedly the glamor and success of the pageant made it stick in people's minds. Thus, right or wrong, the Peter the Shawnee tradition received reinforcement.

I don't know what made Anderson decide to care about the matter but at some point before 1922 he started looking for information which would verify the Shawnee claim. We can imagine his elation when he came across the name "Peter Cornstalk" in Henry Harvey's History of the Shawnee Indians. We felt it ourselves when we first saw it there. This was real historical evidence of Peter the Shawnee! Peter was found!

The name appears several times in Harvey's book, first in a discussion about an 1817 list of Shawnees to whom land was to be given near Wapakoneta, Ohio (See Fig. 16):

> The first clear title, which had any feature of a land title in it, which this tribe [the Shawnee] ever got from government for land, was in 1817. . . .
>
> It may be interesting . . . to have the entire schedule of names inserted here. The names were probably written

by Gen. Cass or the agent, John Johnston, either of whom well understood the Indian orthography. . . .

SCHEDULE.--"The tracts at Wapaughkonnetta and Hog Creek are to be equally divided among the following persons, namely: Blackhoof, Pamthe or Walker, Peaseca or Wolf, . . . Nerupeneshequah or Cornstalk, . . . Tecumtequa [Tecunseh?], . . . Peter Cornstalk, . . ."[15]

Harvey added: "The above contains the names of all the males belonging to the Shawnees who resided at Wapaughkonnetta and Hog Creek, over the age of twenty-one years in 1817." Over 160 names were on the list.

Later, Harvey told of meeting Peter Cornstalk on the Shawnee reservation in Kansas, in 1841. At this time the Shawnee leaders had gathered to discuss a proposal made by the United States government. The government wanted the Shawnees to give up part of their Kansas reserve to the Wyandots. Harvey reported:

Among the most prominent speakers who opposed the measure, was Peter Cornstalk, a very old man, and son of the celebrated chief, Cornstalk, a conspicuous character in the Governor Dunmore war. . . . Peter Cornstalk was a war-chief, and being an exciting speaker, was chosen to defend their rights.[16]

. . . On the next day, one of the chiefs came and requested me to meet them in council on the following day, at Peter Cornstalk's. I accordingly attended, and on my arrival there, I found them assembled to the number of one hundred, and seated in order. . . . All remained silent until Cornstalk arose and delivered a speech declaring their determination never to leave their homes, and saying many other things . . . all of which I wrote down.[17]

Harvey ended a later chapter with the following:

Some of the descendents of [Chief] Cornstalk are now living on Kanzas river. One of his sons lived to an advanced age. He was a war-chief and a very interesting speaker. He had given over his wandering life before he died, and was for several years a very sober, peaceable man.[18]

In the light of this information who could resist thinking that Peter had been found? But, interestingly, Anderson was not convinced that Harvey's Peter was in fact Montgomery County's Peter. He wrote in his articles that he felt he needed to be able to explain how the Wapakoneta Peter could have been in both Ohio and here in Montgomery County. Again he found his explanation in Harvey's writings, in the passage quoted in Chapter 5 above. In this description of the early life style of the Shawnee he found the information about the Indians' summer and winter homes. Confirmation of the two home theory as applying to the local Indians came from Allen Harrison, who said he had seen the Indians making their yearly treks back and forth.[19] Anderson built his case like this:

> I have a theory and submit it for what it is worth. At this time the Delawares were on White River, other tribes had been assigned to the Wabash, but no where did the poor Shawnee of Wabaughkonneta, have hunting grounds.[20] I have shown that they were given in Ohio over 500 acres to each warrior. . . . This would do for farms, but if they were to have hunting grounds they must find them else where. This is what I think Cornstalk and his band did, they slipped in between White River and the Wabash along our little streams, where they would not conflict with other tribes, occupying the large streams and where they would escape the notice of the whites for these streams were not navigable. Thus they enjoyed for years good hunting ground before the white settlers came, and for some years the Cornstalks remained with the settlers, with no bad results, for they were so well behaved that no one objected. But the game became scarce and the Indians naturally withdrew.
>
> . . . But what became of Cornstalk and his band? . . . I accept Beckwith's statement [that they moved to Grant County] with this understanding, they left their hunting ground here for those in Grant Co., but still having their summer home at Wabaughkonnetta, which was but a few mile[s] from Grant Co. I think these Indians hunted westward into Howard Co. which adjoins Grant, for here we find a small stream called Peter Cornstalk Creek. This man not only named a creek among us but was popular enough to put his name on two creeks in the State, he left his impress wherever he went. . . .[21]

After comparing dates of various events with the ages Peter

would have been at those times, Anderson concluded:

> That this son, Peter, was the successor as chief of the Cornstalk Indians is beyond doubt. That his feet once trod the same ground our feet have so often pressed, that his eyes often saw the same hills and streams we are constantly seeing, is equally certain. That he was a great man, a statesman, an orator of wit, sarcasm and logic and of remarkable influence, that he had learned of Jesus the prince of peace, and followed Him closer than many who profess to be Christians is also certain. I think him the greatest man that ever lived in Scott Township. If we only knew where he lies we would help build a monument over his grave equal to that over his fathers grave.[22]

Is it any wonder that those who read Anderson's articles became convinced that our Peter was in fact a Shawnee? On this rests the Shawnee claim.

Had Anderson pursued the matter further he would have learned some other interesting things about Peter Cornstalk the Shawnee.

1) According to the Atlas of Auglaize County, Ohio (1880), "The Indian chieftain, Peter Cornstalk, was born at Old Chillicothe about 1751, and was the son of the celebrated chief of that name who was assassinated at Point Pleasant in 1774 [1777]."[23] (See Appendix for information on the original Chief Cornstalk.)

2) A check of the official Wapakoneta treaty of 1817, the one quoted above by Harvey, in Kappler's Indian Treaties, 1778-1883, shows that the name "Peter Cornstalk" does not appear. Instead, in the same location in the list of names as Harvey's "Peter Cornstalk," it says "Peitehthator or Peter."[24]

3) In 1825 "Peter Cornstalk, or Wyawimon, interp.," signed a treaty for the Shawnees at St. Louis. According to the terms of the treaty the Shawnees ceded their lands near Cape Girardeau, Missouri, to the United States in return for land west of the Mississippi to which the Missouri and Ohio Shawnees could move.[25]

4) Then, from September 30, 1826 until May 28, 1828, Cornstalk was with a group of Shawnees who underwent a

most arduous move from Wapakoneta to Kansas. He was designated as a "govt. chief" and received rations and annuities to be distributed to other Indians.[26]

5) In November of 1828 Isaac McCoy, the Baptist missionary, visited Cornstalk and William Perry's village in Kansas. He gave an abbreviated description of the location and the land around the village in his notes which were attached to a map.

> Country generally rolling, soil rich, course a little to left; Perry and Cornstalk's (Shawnee) village to right, on an eminence, at the foot of which winds the waters of a branch of the Blue river. The general course of this creek, a little beyond this point, west. At No. 3 crossed the Santa Fe road; timber at this point just in sight on right; none in view on left of course.[27]

6) On November 22, 1830, McCoy again visited this Shawnee village. He found, "Only Cornstalk & Perry were present--the others were absent from their villages."[28]

The activities of Peter, from 1825-1828 (#3-#6), may or may not present problems for us. At the least they raises interesting questions. Why was he listed with the name "Wyawimon" on the 1825 treaty? Was this another Indian name for the same Peter or do we have a second individual? R. David Edmunds states that this Cornstalk was one of a group of "young" Shawnee leaders.[29] However, the way I interpret the speeches given by Cornstalk in St. Louis in 1828 it sounds as though he was much older than the general group of "young" Shawnees.[30] If he was the same Peter who had been born around 1751 he would have been around 75 years old, hardly young. However, trying to read between the lines of speeches is a dangerous practice. We will leave this aside for the moment.

7) The next time we find Peter is in Ohio, for in 1831 "P. H. Thawtaw, or Peter Cornstalk" signed another removal treaty at Wapakoneta.[31]

Comparing "P. H. Thawtaw" (#7) with the 1817 "Peitehthator" (#2) one finds that although the names do not look alike, they sound alike and probably represent the same individual. The Indians who could not write signed the treaties with "X." Their names were added by the Indian agent, or a trader, or anyone else who could write, and were written phonetically. Thus there are variations in the spellings from one treaty

signing to the next. This, plus the fact that the Indians frequently changed their names, makes the tracing of Indians difficult.

Peter's presence in Wapakoneta in 1831 may be a good illustration of the fact that even after the official removal of a tribe, Indians continued to move around a lot. Either that, or it supports the theory that we have two (or maybe three--see Appendix) Shawnee Peters.

8) Then, during 1832-3, "at the age of eighty-two Cornstalk accompanied his tribe to Kansas, and settled on the Kansas river."[32] This is where he was when Harvey met him in 1841, when he gave the speech about the Wyandots to which Anderson referred in his 1922 article.

9) The year 1845 is the approximate date for the death of Peter Cornstalk. "He was buried in the Quaker Mission Cemetery near the Kansas river."[33]

There are some problems involved with the above information on Peter the Shawnee. To start out with, who exactly was Mr. Henry and how did he know about the Cornstalks in Indiana? What happened to the book he was writing? Was Peter really the son of Chief Cornstalk? How many Shawnee Peters were there? Solutions to these problems are still being sought.

But the fact that there was an historical Peter Cornstalk who was a Shawnee has been verified. It seems as though Anderson was correct and we need look no further before declaring Peter the Shawnee the winner. But to be fair we must investigate the claim that Peter was a Miami.

## PETER THE MIAMI

In 1981 the Montgomery County Historical Society decided to erect a roadside marker in Parkersburg, Indiana, commemorating the Cornstalk Indians. At that time the members of the Historical Marker Committee agonized over the problem of trying to establish the tribal affiliation of the Cornstalk Indians. Remley Herr, a member of the committee, had always believed that the Cornstalks were Eel River Miamis or Weas and that they had been related to the Thorntown Indians. He received this information from his grandmother as it had been passed down through the Remley, the Herr, and the LaFollette families. She also told him that the chief's Indian name was "Ahsongong."[34]

Searching for verification of this information in 1981, Herr traveled to Thorntown where he talked with some descendants of the Eel River Indians. These Indians assured him that their ancestors had been "blood brothers" to the Indians from Cornstalktown.[35] This does not constitute "hard" data, but it does show tradition from both white and Indian sources. It was on the basis of this information that the committee decided to stick with the Miami claim. The marker states that the Cornstalks were members of the Snakefish (Eel River) tribe of Miami Indians.[36]

Following the same reasoning as before, that if Peter Cornstalk had indeed been a real Indian and a chief then there must have been some official records for him, we continued the search. For the purpose of this study I decided to avoid trying to distinguish between the Wea, Eel River, and regular Miami affiliations. Since they were easily confused in the early 19th century it seemed unlikely that I would be able to make a valid distinction among them in 1985. Therefore, in the information which follows, when a specific tribe has been mentioned in a particular source it will be noted, otherwise all three will be grouped as Miami.

1) The reader may remember that Anderson mentioned a Peter Cornstalk Creek in Howard County. Anderson assumed it had been named after Peter the Shawnee but if he had read either Jacob Dunn's True Indian Stories or Indiana and Indianans he would have found the following information:

> CORNSTALK--postoffice in Howard County; also "Pete Cornstalk Creek," a small stream in the same county. These are memorials of an old Miami of the Thorntown band, who lived in this vicinity. "Cornstalk" was merely a nickname used by the white settlers. His proper name was Ah-son'-song, which means "sun-shine."[37]

The name is spelled "Ah-san-zang" in Dunn's Indiana and Indianans.[38] Another spelling, of this name appears on Guernsey's 1932 map. There the designation says, "Cornstalk's or Ahsonzong vil. 'Sunshine' MI [Miami]." The village is located in the west section of Howard County. (See Fig. 17)

2) We found only one treaty which had a signature which might have been the Ahsongong/Ah-son-song/Ahsan-zang/Ahson-zong/Miami Peter. In 1828 "Aw sawn zaw gaw," a chief, head man, or warrior of the Eel River or Thorntown party of Miami Indians, signed the Thorntown treaty ceding

that reservation to the United States.[39] Fortunately there are official documents other than the treaties, most notably the annuity lists.

3) The name "Peter Cornstock" appeared on the Miami Payroll of 1830. He was to receive payment of annuities for 10 people at Logansport. The payroll was for 1006 Indians of the Miami and Eel River tribes but, unfortunately, specific identifications of who belonged to which tribe were not made.[40] (Fig. 31)

4) In 1838 a Peter Cornstalk died and was buried in Howard County. This lively story of his burial is told in the 1877 Combination Atlas Map of Howard County, Indiana:

> Peter Cornstalk was a prominent Indian Chief, living in the Reserve, who died in 1838, just north of Burlington in Carroll County. Wm. Smith and others were hired to take his corpse to Kokomo for burial. They had to take it in a wagon and cut their road through the forest wilderness. So, when they reached a point where the trail crossed Pete's Run, on the north side of Wild Cat (now in Ervin Township), they buried him there, and thus the stream obtained its name. Not long after, his son, also named "Pete" Cornstalk, was passing along the trail from Burlington to Co-como, past [sic] this spot, when he discovered three of the Wea tribe of band, to wit: Doc Bill, Capt. Bill, and Sam Loon, disinterring the old chief's remains. Pete then shot and killed Capt. Bill on the spot, but the other two escaped. They were intending to rob the grave of the ornaments customarily deposited with the bodies of Indian chiefs which outfit for the happy hunting grounds, in this instance . . . a tomahawk, pipe, tobacco pouch and hunting dress of a chief. Such robbery was regarded by Pete as an unpardonable crime, and also by Indians generally.
>
> In March, 1840, Pete learned that Loon was at or near Joshua Barnett's grocery, on boundary line (now in Ervin Township), and he went there and inquired of Pleasant Walker, who guided him half a mile north, up a small branch, to where Loon was. Pete treated Loon from his bottle, then took him to the grocery and got him drunk and left him sleeping under a beech tree with Doc Bill, who was sick, until eight o'clock next morning, when he went out there, pounced upon Loon like a panther, pulled him away from his sick brother, Bill, jerked his blanket

off and stabbed him fatally in the breast with his knife while sitting upon his body. Pete, having wreaked his vengeance on the two, seemed satisfied, leaving the sick Bill, who soon after died of disease. Pete gave Pleasant Walker five dollars in silver to bury Loon, which he did. This occurred just east of said boundary line, in the Reserve, now in Clay Township. Nothing was ever done about it, as it was an Indian mode of settling such difficulties.[41]

There is another report that, at some unspecified date, a Pete Cornstalk (Peter's son?) was buried in Tipton County, "inclosed by a pen built of round logs."[42]

This then would seem to have been the end of our Miami Peter. But wait just a moment.

5) A "Schedule of notes and a/c's [accounts] due D. R. Bearss since November 6th, 1839," shows that Peter Corn Stalk's account in the amount of $3.00 had been "paid."[43] Bearss was a trader in the Peru area.[44] Now it's possible that Peter's account could have been paid for him by someone else, but it's difficult to see how he could have run up an account after November 6, 1839, if he died in 1838, unless son Pete was running up accounts. This is just the beginning of our puzzles with Peter the Miami. Consider the following:

6) In May of 1846 "As saun zaung guaw" with family of 8 is on the "List of Families of Miamis who are not permitted by treaty stipulation to remain in Indiana." There is no "Cornstalk" on the list.[45]

7) Then, on October 6, 1846, "Corn Stalk" with family of 8 appears on the "List of Miami Indians mustered at Peru, Indiana, and who commenced their emigration to Kansas." No name which could be construed as "As saun zaung guaw" appears on this list.[46]

8) On November 5, 1846, "As son son gah" and family of 8 are listed with the Miamis who arrived at the Osage River Agency in Kansas. No name which could be "Cornstalk" appears on this list.[47]

9) And on June 30, 1847, "As sah song ah" with family of 8 is listed on muster roll of emigrated Miami Indians within the Osage river Sub Agency to whom subsistence was

MIAMI PAYROLL FOR 1830

[ISL:Tipton Papers—C]

PAY ROLL OF THE MIAMIE FOR 1830

| No of parties | Names of Chiefs | No of Persons | Residence | Amt due | Remarks | 1831 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Charleys wife | 15 | | 139 00 | paid | 15 |
| 2 | Mun a to qua | 3 | | 27 50 | | |
| 3 | Osage | 178 | | 1651 50 | paid | 121 |
| 4 | Black Raccoon | 33 | | 306 00 | paid | 27 |
| 5 | Nai-wee-ling-gau-gah or 4 wings | 20 | | 185 50 | paid | |
| 6 | Mee to see neia | 45 | | 417 50 | paid | 21 |
| 7 | Seeks | 56 | | 519 50 | paid | 45 |
| 8 | Min gee neo kee ah | 48 | | 445 00 | paid | 37 |
| 9 | Flat Belly | 45 | | 417 50 | paid | 58 |
| 10 | Squirrel 39 paid in 1830 11 | 28 | | 259 50 | paid | 31 |
| 11 | Bon da family | 11<br>5 | | 46 | paid his son $12 and J B Richeville $34 | 4 |
| 12 | Pee wau pes ah | 43 | | 398 50 | paid | |
| 13 | White Raccoon | 59 | | 547 00 | paid | 43 |
| 14 | Red Stick | 14 | | 129 | paid | |
| 15 | Wau wee as see | 52 | | 482 | paid | 63 |
| 16 | Lewis Godfroy | 18 | | 167 | paid | |
| 17 | Francis Godfroy | 20 | | 185 50 | paid | |
| 18 | Fish Head | 9 | | 83 50 | paid | 9 |
| 19 | Sharlows wife | 10 | | 92 | paid | |
| 20 | Black Loon | 72 | | 668 | paid | 84 |
| | Goin | 3 | | | | |
| 21 | White Loon wife | 16 | | 148 | paid | |
| 44 | Keel so qui | 4 | | 37 | paid not calculatd in first Coln | |
| 22 | Crane | 29 | | 269 | paid | 28 |
| 23 | Ka wee sah (mother in law) | 2 | | 18 50 | paid | |
| 24 | Squirrels wife | 4 | | 37 | paid | |
| 25 | Lafountain (Brother in law) | 13 | | 120 50 | | 13 |
| 26 | Beavers Daughter | 9 | | 83 50 | paid | |
| 27 | Black Raccoon (Daughter) | 9 | | 83 50 | paid | |
| 28 | Tuck a mong | 8 | | 74 | paid | 9 |
| 29 | Deaf Man | 5 | | 46 | paid | |
| 30 | La-tap pant | 12 | | 112 | paid | 7 |
| 31 | Black Raccoon | 3 | | 27 50 | paid | |
| 32 | Sha po po ma tah of not a wen say party | 2 | | 18 50 | To be pad | |
| 33 | Shop o due sa | 18 | | 167 | Do Do | |
| 34 | Peter Cornstock | 10 | | 92 | Do Do | |
| 35 | Wap Shing gah | 4 | | 37 | | |
| 36 | Nau wap co mong qua | 9 | | 83 50 | paid | 14 |
| 37 | Joseph Richardville | 15 | | 139 | | |
| 38 | Other Persons | 18 | | 167 | | |
| 39 | Pun-Shee wah | 5 | | 46 00 | | |
| 40 | Three woman with J Godfry | 3 | | 28 | paid to F Godfroy not calculated in the first colª | |
| | Robidau family | 5 | | 46 | | 16 |
| | Met tea een zoa qui | 5 | | 46 | paid | 5 |
| | Barribo wife & children | 6 | | 55 50 | paid to Barribo | |
| | Lassell | 2 | | 37 00 | 1 paid | paid |
| | Gouin | 3 | | 28 | paid to F Comparet | |

[Endorsed:] Abstract of Miamie payment in 1830.—
Miamies 1006
E' rivers

Fig. 31. Miami Payroll of 1830
(The John Tipton Papers. Indiana Historical Bureau, 1942)

issued. No name which could be "Cornstalk" appears on this list.[48]

Again we are left with problems. If we could be certain that Herr's "Ahsongong" and Dunn/Godfroy's "Ah-son-song/Ah-san-zang" (#1) were the same as "Aw sawn zaw gaw" who signed the 1828 treaty (#2), then we would feel more comfortable about saying that they were the same as the 1846-47 "As saun zaung guaw/As son son gah/As sah song ah" (#6, #7?, #8, & #9). If they weren't the same person is there something in the forms of the names which indicates the relationship between the individuals? A linguist who specializes in Miami names could perhaps shed some light upon this problem.

Further, why did the family apparently decreased by two between the annuity payments in 1830 and the removal in 1846? Did two people move away or did they die? If they died were they Howard County's 1838 Peter and Tipton County's Pete? How does the 1828 treaty signer (#2) fit into the picture? Was it he who moved to Kansas with his family of 8? If we could establish an age for the 1846 Cornstalk we might be able to sort some of this out.

But, again, it is unrefutable that there was an historic figure known as Peter Cornstalk--only this time he was a Miami.

Some readers may be wondering why we did not include Thomas Dean's Peter Cornstalk in support of the Miami claim. (See "Early Encounters between Whites and the Indians" in Chapter 3.) We omitted him because, although Dean said he met him near the Wea Town, he did not say that Peter was a Wea. This and several stories from the Terre Haute area which are included below in "More Peter Cornstalk Stories" can be considered only as circumstantial evidence linking Peter Cornstalk to the Miamis.

## Choosing Montgomery County's Peter

Now the time has come for us to declare our choice for Montgomery County's Peter Cornstalk. Shall it be Peter Cornstalk the Shawnee or Peter Cornstalk the Miami?

One of the most interesting, delightful, and confusing manuscripts we found was Livy Miller Ashby's 1936 paper on Cornstalk.[49] In it she presents both claims, simultaneously, as though they were only one claim. For example, she says

that Chief Cornstalk (Shawnee) who fought in the battle of Point Pleasant was named Ah-son-zong (one of our Miami names for Peter). In another place, when talking about the warrior for whom Cornstalk Creek was named, she wrote "Shawnee," then crossed it out and wrote in "Miami." It seems clear that she took Anderson's Shawnee information and tried to make it fit the traditional Miami claim. It can't be done. It must be one way or the other.

I doubt that we will ever find absolute proof of which Peter was here. The only documents which could perhaps give us such information would be something like a news note or minutes from the town council stating, "Today Peter Cornstalk appeared before the Council to report that he and his family of Eel River Indians will be moving out of the county next week." It is highly unlikely that we will ever find such a document. Just as good would be an early settler's diary with an entry such as "On July 6th, 1824, we stopped in Wapakoneta and were pleased to meet our good Shawnee friend Peter Cornstalk. He said he and his family were looking forward to returning to Montgomery County next winter." Again, an unlikely find. So the best we can do is take the evidence at hand and make inferences from it.

1) The crucial years of contact with the white settlers in Montgomery County seem to have been 1822-1830. During the early part of this period we have no documentation to show where either Peter was. However, we know that in 1825 Peter the Shawnee was in Saint Louis, and between 1826 and 1828 he was on the road moving with a group of Shawnees to Kansas, and that in 1830 he was in his village in Kansas when it was visited by Isaac McCoy. Of course, if one wants to pursue the two Shawnee Peters theory then perhaps it was Wyawimon/ Peter who did all these things while Peitehthator/Peter stayed in Ohio, spending his winters in Indiana, and moving to Kansas in 1832.

However, it seems to me that 1829 is the most important year. If one accepts the statements that the Cornstalk village in Scott Township was abandoned after the winter of 1828 and that the Indians went to Thorntown for a big pow wow before the Thorntown reservation was abandoned in the fall of 1829, then one has to see that Wyawimon/Peter was a very busy person, running back and forth across the country moving Indians every which way. And if Peitehthator/Peter was Montgomery County's Peter then the question arises, why would a Shawnee be concerned with the Thorntown Wea/Eel River/Miami

reservation removal? Actually, this question arises regardless of which Shawnee Peter you want to claim.

And where was Peter the Miami during this time? In 1828 he signed the Thorntown treaty, and in 1830 he was "to be paid" annuities at Logansport. Neither of which proves that he was in Montgomery County but at least he was closer to hand.

2) It seems not impossible that the Shawnees hunted in this area for, as Dr. Elizabeth Glenn from Ball State University wrote, ". . . there is much confusion with names and locations during the 1820-40 period resulting in a plethora of contradictory information and the feeling that anyone can be anywhere during that span."[50] However, if the Ohio Shawnees had been familiar with this area of the country it seems very strange that they did not come this way in 1826 when they were traveling from Wapakoneta to Vincennes on their way to Kansas. Instead they allowed the agents to lead them southwest, through the country drained by the White River--country so difficult to travel that it took more than two months for them to reach Vincennes.[51] The Strawtown Trace and Wea Trail would have seemed like a more natural choice particularly if they already had a winter village on Cornstalk Creek.

3) The local family traditions and the sources of the claims seem vitally important to me. As far as we have been able to ascertain there was no family tradition which claimed the Cornstalks were Shawnee prior to the arrival of Mr. Henry. We wish we knew just exactly how he knew that a family of Indians known as the Cornstalks had lived in Montgomery County. If he was told by his family that they lived here, then that would be important evidence. If, however, he was just following up a lead, much as genealogists today do when looking for ancestors, then his visit was not important--except that it muddied up the waters of our local history.

4) When one takes into consideration all the circumstantial evidence gathered from along the Wea Trail, from Terre Haute to Howard County, and adds it to the documented Miami evidence, Peter the Miami seems to have had such a presence in the state that it seems unnecessary for us to look further afield. And every time I try to make out a case for Peter the Shawnee being Montgomery County's Peter I feel like Livy Ashby trying to place facts into a situation where they just don't fit.

Therefore, I cast my vote for Peter the Miami, reserving the right to add, "Conclusion subject to change depending upon the findings of ongoing research."

And just because I have chosen Peter the Miami does not mean that Peter the Shawnee was unimportant for us. The nagging question presents itself, what was the connection which caused all these individuals to have had the same name? Just why did the settlers give "A-son-zang" the nickname "Peter Cornstalk"? Did this stem from the time when both the Miami and the Shawnee lived near Wapakoneta? Was there something about the personality of Peter the Miami which reminded them of Peter the Shawnee? Or did the origins of both their names come from the older Chief Cornstalk? Many of the Indiana settlers had come from Ohio and Virginia and were surely familiar with the famous chief.

It is unlikely that we will ever find answers to these questions, but the influence of the older Chief Cornstalk and the legacy of his name warrant his story being told in the Appendix of this book.

## Peter Cornstalk as Legend

As we researched this subject we began to suspect that the name "Peter Cornstalk" referred to not only at least two historic individuals but also that over the years it had taken on the qualities of a folk hero. Peter Cornstalk stories have been received from Vigo, Putnam, Montgomery, Howard, and Tipton Counties. Some of these stories were included in Chapter 1, others will be found below in "More Peter Cornstalk Stories." All but one tell of Peter performing some kind of good deed.

He guarded the belongings of some settlers until they could return to Montgomery County, several months later.
He had his squaws shear a woman's sheep (while he sat on the front porch and drank tea).
He informed a white family in Terre Haute that other Indians were planning to kidnap their "pretty little red haired girl."
He recaptured a horse for a settler after the horse had been stolen by Indians.
He informed John Harrison about the time of the land sale in Thorntown.
He taught the settlers how to cure snake bites.
He killed a man, "for a slight provocation."

He helped a young boy redistribute the grain sacks on his horse so that he could ride better.

This last story is of particular interest because we have two versions of it. The reader may recall "A Kind Deed" from Chapter 1. It involved John W. Harrison's trip to the mill when an Indian helped him readjust the grain sacks on his horse. In Harrison's original version of the story he did not identify the Indian. However, in 1936, when Livy Ashby retold the story (in her paper "Cornstalk") she quoted Harrison's account word for word except that at the end she identified the Indian as being "Chief [Peter] Cornstalk." Strange that Harrison, whose family claimed many contacts with the Cornstalks, did not mention him. Perhaps the addition of familiar names to unidentified characters in popular stories is one way that folk characters are born.

## More Peter Cornstalk Stories

The first two stories come from Vigo County. Although they do not indicate any tribal affiliations, it is known that there was a Wea village near Fort Harrison and that in the early 19th century the area was generally considered to be Wea/Piankeshaw/Miami territory.

### LITTLE REDHEAD

Mr. Briggs told the story of a local family with descendants still living in Terre Haute. This family included a little girl with beautiful auburn hair. They lived in a log cabin near Fort Harrison.

The Indians in the area were very attracted to her red hair. Since the Indians always have black hair, this was a novelty to them, and in addition it was curly while theirs was always straight. Several of them wanted to buy the child and offered five ponies for her. When her parents refused this handsome offer, they were surprised. Any Indian would not have refused such an offer for one of his children.

They resolved to steal the child, but the family was warned by a friendly chief named Peter Cornstalk. She was closely watched and never stolen.[52]

A STOLEN HORSE

In 1815 the Indians came in great numbers to sue for peace. My grandfather's sharp eye discovered "Old Bally"--a valuable piece of horse-flesh--just over the river, which some Indian had had the impudence to ride back, having stolen him six months before, together with a number of other horses. Not wishing to interfere with the amicable arrangements then making, he proceeded quietly across the river, on the morning that the grand council was assembled around the fort, and having secured "Bally," stripped him of his tell-tale bell, and leading him below a bend in the river, made off with him as fast as possible, in a southerly direction. He sent him to Vincennes, where he left him two years and then brought him back to his farm; but the Indian, who had formerly stolen him, thinking perhaps that the theft had given him a permanent title, stole him again. The next heard of "Bally" he was about one hundred miles westward. My grandfather offered a friendly Indian--Peter Cornstalk--his gun and trappings if he would bring him back. He did so, and "Bally" made another two years' visit to Vincennes; after which he was returned to the farm, where he was permitted to end his days in peace.[53]

The next story came from a letter which was read at the old settlers' meeting at Sugar Plain, near Thorntown, in September, 1887. The incident allegedly took place in June of 1830, on the day of the land sale at Thorntown.

CURING A SNAKE BITE

An incident occurred during the day, I will mention. Some gentleman had lariated a horse near where the Gapen tanyard was afterwards located, and the horse was bitten by a rattle snake. We all sympathized with the unfortunate owner, as no one was then very able to lose a horse, although that was not a very valuable one. Cornstalk the chief, volunteered his services to cure the horse, and applied the juice of the root of a weed growing in the bottoms of Prairie Creek to the wound, which was successful, and the horse was entirely healed.

Chief Cornstalk taught me the remedy, which I afterwards applied in several instances, which was always successful if made in time.[54]

The histories of Howard County contain many mentions of Peter Cornstalk. Some of them simply reprint or rework information given in the Combination Atlas Map of Howard County, Indiana, which we quoted in "Peter the Miami" above. A longer biographical sketch was written by Owen Freeland in 1971.

LIFE AND LEGEND OF PETER CORNSTALK

To begin with Peter Cornstalk was an Indian who once lived in Ervin Township, to be more explicit, he lived in the southwestern part of the township.

Yes, Peter Cornstalk was one of more than 200 of the primitive inhabitants of this county, and his history (what little is known of it) is so closed allied with other Indian characters of his day that it is hard to speak of one without including many others.

Peter was a member of the well known Miami tribe . . . but is believed to had [sic] married outside his tribe, to a Wyandotte, whose home was near Burlington. These Wyandottes were part of the Iroquois Indian Nation that were at odds with the Algonquins, so Peter lived apart from any Miami Village, thus he seemed like a loner, but he always remained friendly to both Tribes. [If this was in fact true, and not just part of the folklore, then it could provide a reasonable explaination for the Cornstalks having lived in Montgomery County rather than on the Thorntown reservation.] After the death of his Wyandotte wife he continued to visit her people. He chose Indian Luck at the fork of the Wildcat and Petes Run in Ervin Township as his home, as it was midway between his wife's village and his own Miami people. He made his abode in a rude shack, that might be called an open faced lean-to, that he named "Indian Luck," it was here the first white man met Peter Cornstalk around 1838. Peter was an honest Indian, never known to imbide [sic] in hard liquor, or to get mixed up in any brawls. He was an Indian diplomat within his Tribe, and also the go-between the Miami's and the Wyandottes. It is said he was quite friendly with Old Chief Kokomo. . . . He also was on good terms with an old Indian Sacem near Russiaville by the name of Richardsville, a Miami Chief. . . . It was this old chief that Richardsville County was named after, later the name was changed to Howard County. . . .

Not much is known of Peter Cornstalk's family life,

although a son is mentioned, and he apparently was a widower, and spent his time, as most of his race did, in hunting, fishing with a trap line during the winter months. The streams at that time were full of fish, otter, mink and muskrat were plentiful, opussum, wolf and now and then a bear was brought down, so he was able to keep himself fairly well supplied with meat, fish and fowl, besides he usually grew a patch of Indian corn that was supplemented by a crop of beans. He would either grind his own cornmeal in a rude hand mill, or would make the trip to Delphi, Frankfort, Logansport, or Peru to buy what was needed. . . .

There was a Wyandotte village near Burlington a couple of miles northwest, and one near Galveston known as "Shapps Village." Shapps Trail connected the two. This being the tribe of his wife's people, Peter was very friendly towards these Indians, and it was after visiting the Wyandotte Village near Burlington, that he became very ill, and died on the trail home. He was buried by his party, near where he died, about 50 rods northwest of where the Young America road crosses Indiana State Road 22, close to the forks of the stream named in his honor, "Petes Run." His friends according to their custom, buried his gun, tomahawk, beads, feathers and a little silver with him, but Peter Jr. would not continue on with the rest, but stayed to watch over his father's grave. The next evening after dusk, two men came and began to open up the grave, and Peter Jr. killed one of them, by the name of Sam Loon, a half breed. His body was buried just outside the Petes Run Cemetery. After tracking the second man for two years, Peter Jr. overtook him near Joshua Barnetts Mill, he too was shot, people questioned the law for not interferring, but was [sic] told that was Indian justice according to Indian law. However, Peter Cornstalk's grave was robbed around 1880 by a medical student, as the story goes, his skeleton adorned a doctor's office in Windfall for quite sometime.

Peter Cornstalk was truly a credit to his race, he left his footprints on the sands of time. Petes Run Pike (Ind. 22) was named after this fine old Indian, along with Petes Run Stream, and at one time a Post Office was named Cornstalk after him. Although not listed in "Who is Who" as famous, Peter Cornstalk was Ervin Township's greatest Indian.[55]

WHO DONE IT? PETE OR PETER?

It was in the old orchard west of the run. . . that Pete Cornstalk, the peace chief, murdered an Indian brother for a slight provocation.[56]

An entry from Tipton County:

PETE CORNSTALK'S GRAVE?

On the Bowlby farm there are two Indians buried, a man by the name of Pete Cornstalk and a squaw, by name "Over-the-garden-wall." The latter name is probably fictitious, but these graves, as well as that of the one buried on the Sippy farm, remained for many years inclosed by pens built of round logs.[57]

And more from Howard County:

THOSE WHO KNEW HIM?

Peter Cornstalk was an Indian and lived in Howard County, all right. Any doubt that he was a real Indian was scotched Thursday by Mrs. Alice Garritson, of Walnut Manor. Mrs. Garritson owns a box of beads which her mother, Margaret Albright, got from Cornstalk. Now 81, Mrs. Garritson remembers hearing her mother talk about the Indian.[58]

John T. Long, son of Judge T. A. and Margaret Long, was born in Marion County, Ind., August 10, 1838; he came to his county with his family and settled in Clay Township, where he spent his youthful days in playing with the old peace chief, Peter Cornstalk. . . .[59]

The dates given in the above two stories pose a bit of a problem. Either the Peter Cornstalk Margaret Albright and Mr. Long knew was the Cornstalk who moved to Kansas in 1846 or perhaps it was Pete, son of Peter. It could not have been the Peter who died in 1838.

Another memorial to Peter:

CORNSTALK POSTOFFICE

Cornstalk Postoffice stood a couple miles this side of Burlington within a mile of Pete's Run and the Peter

Cornstalk grave-site for which it was named. . . .

That postoffice opened July 2, 1875, under Postmaster Simon P. Woods, and service was discontinued on Nov. 16, 1875, a few months later. On Jan. 3, 1876, it reopened under George W. Rice, who was replaced by S. H. Joles on Dec. 28, 1876. On Aug. 14, 1877, Cornstalk Postoffice discontinued service forever, after a total existence of about 2 years. This is good, solid history.

Some members of the Kokomo Stamp Club claim they have seen covers (envelopes) with the Cornstalk Postoffice cancellation stamp, but none of them has produced one at this short notice. Imagine not being able to find such a common item as that![60]

Our final item comes from Montgomery County. I almost hesitate to put this in, but it is part of our history so it must be included. It appeared in the August 31, 1922 issue of the Ladoga Leader.

PETER ON DISPLAY

Last Friday evening the historical society [in Ladoga] held a . . . meeting at the home of the president. W. L. Anderson. After a short business meeting . . . Mr. Anderson began displaying old relics giving a short history of each. . . .

A human bone found on the banks of Cornstalk Creek in Scott township and supposed to be from the remains of Peter Cornstalk, the Indian Chief, who at one time lived on the banks of the creek bearing his name, created much interest. . . .

This was indeed a very instructive and interesting meeting and the seventeen members and guests present thoroughly enjoyed it. The next meeting will be held Friday evening, Sept. 8, with Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Ashby at 7 o'clock.

# APPENDIX

## The Life, Death, and Family of Chief Cornstalk

It is generally stated that Chief Cornstalk was born around 1720 and was taken by his parents to the Scioto River area of Ohio in 1730.[1] There is no such agreement when it comes to his Indian name. Some say that it was Keightughqua.[2] Others say that Keightughqua was the phonetic spelling of the Shawnee pronunciation of "Cornstalk," that his proper name was Hokolesqua.[3] Historically, the first mention we have of him is from 1763 when he was captured following the massacres in settlements in Greenbrier, on Muddy Creek, and Carr's Creek.[4] These attacks were in response to the encroachment of the settlers into the Ohio Valley-Virginia border areas.

As the hunters and settlers began to occupy Kentucky the Indians became even more uneasy. Finally they decided that their hunting grounds would be destroyed and they themselves would be annihilated if they did not band together. Thus they formed a confederacy, and Cornstalk became a leader in war and peace.

In 1774, after his brother, Silver Heels, was shot while on a peaceful journey, Cornstalk approached Lord Dunmore, the Governor of Virginia, to try to arrange a peaceful settlement to the general situation. Instead of talking, Dunmore's response was to raise an army with the intent of defeating the Indians on the battle field.[5] Detailed accounts of the battle of Point Pleasant may be found elsewhere so only a brief description will be given here.[6]

Lord Dunmore's original plan called for two large forces to meet at Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Kanawha River in present-day West Virginia. Once joined, they were to attack the Indian villages. On October 9, 1774, 1,100 soldiers under Captain Andrew Lewis were camped at the Point. Dunmore's forces had not arrived.

Cornstalk led the Indians, perhaps 1,000 warriors, made up of Shawanees, Wyandotts, Delawares, Mingoes, Cayugas, and the smaller tribes under their control. It is said that before leading them into battle, Cornstalk called a council and asked whether the leaders really wanted to fight or whether they wanted to try again for peace. The council

unanimously demanded battle.

Preparations were made to surprise Lewis at sunrise but the Indian forces were discovered by some deer hunters who warned Lewis's camp. A day-long battle ensued. It was going successfully for the Indians, with Cornstalk's famous voice urging them on with cries of "Be Strong! Be Strong!" But late in the day Lewis sent forces to attack the Indians from the rear. The Indians thought the soldiers had received reinforcements and fearing they were greatly outnumbered they broke from battle and retreated. Thus the whites won the day.

> Upon reaching a place of safety, the Indians held a council. They had been defeated in their long expected great battle. The "long knives" were pressing on. Cornstalk enquired [sic!], what should be done. No one spoke. After a solemn pause, Cornstalk arose. "We must fight, or we are undone. Let us kill our women and children and go and fight till we die." He sat down. After a long pause, he rose again and striking his tomahawk in to the council post, said--"Then I'll go and make peace." The warriors around replied, "ough! ough! ough!" Runners were immediately despatached to the Governor to solicit terms of peace, and to ask for protection from "the long knives;" and Cornstalk and his sister, the grenadier squaw, set out to meet the Governor . . . near Chilicothe. . . .
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> On the third, the appointed day, Cornstalk, with eight chiefs, met the Governor, near the Scioto; and it was agreed mutually that hostilities should cease, the prisoners be delivered up, and that a treaty should be ratified the next summer at Fort Pitt. . . . The conference was opened by Dunmore's reading . . . his charges against the Indians for their infractions of former treaties and their many and unprovoked murders. "When Cornstalk rose to reply" says Col. Wilson--"he was in no wise confused or daunted, but spoke in a distinct and audible voice, without stammering or repetition, and with peculiar emphasis. His looks while addressing Dunmore were truly grand, yet graceful and attractive." As he became excited he was heard through the whole camp. He sketched in lively colors the once prosperous condition of his tribe when some of its divisions dwelt on the Shenandoah. He inveighed against the perfidiousness of the whites, most perticularly exclaiming against the dishonesty of the traders. He proposed that no one be permitted to trade with the Indians on private account; that fair prices

should be agreed upon, and the traffic be committed to honest men; and finally that no spirits of any kind should be sent amongst them; because firewater brought evil to the Indians."[7]

Of his oratory, Col. Benjamin Wilson an officer in Lord Dunmore's army, says--"I have heard the first orators in Virginia, Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee, but never have I heard one whose powers of delivery surpassed those of Cornstalk."[8]

Little else is known about Cornstalk until 1777.[9] In that year some of the Indians west of the Ohio had decided to join forces with the British against the colonists. Cornstalk was not in favor of this action. He had come to believe that the safety of the Shawnees was in friendship with "the long knives." In the spring of 1777, he went to Fort Randolph at Point Pleasant and sought an interview with Captain Aubuckle, the commander of the Fort. Chief Redhawk and a few attendants accompanied him. He informed Captain Arbuckle that the coalition of the tribes was nearly completed and that hostilities were about to commence. Captain Arbuckle detained the chief and sent a messenger to Williamsburg, the seat of government for the area.

While waiting for . . . [word from Williamsburg] the officers held frequent interviews with Cornstalk. One afternoon, as he was delineating upon the floor the geography of the country between the Shawanee towns and the Mississippi, and showing the position and course of the various rivers that empty into those mighty streams, a shouting was heard from the opposite banks of the Ohio. Cornstalk arose deliberately and went out and answered the call. Immediately a young chief crossed the river, whom Cornstalk embraced with the greatest tenderness. It was his son Elinipsico. The young man, distressed at his long absence had come to seek his father. At a council of officers held the next morning Cornstalk was present by invitation. He made a speech. . . .

About the time the council closed, two of the volunteers [Gilmore and Hamilton], returning from a deer hunt on the opposite side of the Ohio, were fired upon by some Indians concealed upon the bank. . . . Gilmore was killed. . . . His companions hastily crossed the river, and brought back the bloody corpse, and rescued Hamilton from his danger. . . . Elinipsico was charged with

bringing the Indians that had just killed Gilmore, and . . . the soldiers . . . [threatened] them all with death. The young chief denied any participation, even the most remote, in the murder. "The canoe had scarcely touched the shore," says Stuart, "until the cry was raised--let us kill the Indians in the fort, and every man, with his gun in his hand, came up the bank pale with rage. . . . Capt. Arbuckle and I met them and endeavored to dissuade them from so unjustifiable an action. But they cocked their guns, threatened us with instand death if we did not desist, and rushed by us into the fort." Elinipsico hearing their approach, trembled greatly. Cornstalk said, "My son, the Great Spirit has seen fit that we should die together, and has sent you here. It is his will. Let us submit. It is best;" and turned to meet the enemy at the door. In a moment he fell, and expired without a groan. He was pierced with seven bullets. Elinipsico sat unmoved upon his stool; and like his father, received the shots of the soldiers, and died without motion. Redhawk endeavored to escape by the chimney, which proved too small. He was shot, and fell dead in the ashes. Another Indian present was cruelly mangled, and murdered by piece-meal. The fort was covered with gloom. . . . Col. Skillern did not arrest the murderers. General Hand arrived [from Williamsburg] without forces or supplies, and took no notice of the deed. . . . The civil authorities made some investigation, but the county court of Rockbridge, after ascertaining with some degree of certainly the actors in the bloody deed, proceeded no further. Some of the witnesses died, and others fled; and the distresses and vexations of the seven years' war diverted the public attention. The exasperated Shawanees took ample vengeance for that cruel and unexpiated slaughter. The blood of multitudes along the frontiers flowed for Cornstalk and Elinipsico and Redhawk, before the peace of 1783.[10]

Chief Cornstalk's Family

We have located several possible members of Chief Cornstalk's family. Besides his brother, Silver Heels--the one who was wounded in 1774--he had a sister, Nonhelema, better known as the Grenadier Squaw. She was an important leader of the Shawnee and had her own town on the Scioto in Ohio.[11]

As for children, it has been said that besides Elinipsico he had another son, Wolf, who survived him. Wolf was active in the early days of the American Revolution and was held

hostage by Lord Dunmore in Williamsburg for a while during that time.[12] It has been said that he also had a daughter, princess Aracoma, who married a white man named Balen Baker (she is buried near Logan, W. Va.), and perhaps a daughter named Cornflower.[13] And then there was Peter.

Henry Harvey's History of the Shawnee seems to have been the common source for all the statements that Chief Cornstalk had a son named Peter Cornstalk.[14] Unfortunately, no where did Harvey give us Peter's Indian name. Earlier, I extrapolated from the fact that since "Peitehthator or Peter" appeared on Kappler's list in the same position as "Peter Cornstalk" on Harvey's list of the 1817 Wapakoneta land grants, therefore Peter Cornstalk's Indian name was Peitehthator, (or P. H. Thawthaw, see page 155, 157-9 above). However, Louis Houch states in his A History of Missouri that, "Among the Shawnees settled on Apple Creek in upper Louisiana was Peter Cornstalk--Nerupenesheguah--son of the celebrated Cornstalk of the Dunmore war. . . ."[15] According to Houck, Nerupenesheguah belonged to the group of Shawnees who opposed further Indian hostilities with the settlers. He moved to Louisiana (which at that time, 1780-90, was Spanish territory and later became Cape Girardeau, Missouri) when he was about 30 years old. (If, as was stated in the history of Auglaize County, Ohio, Peter was born in 1751 this would fit.[16]) He was still living there in 1812 but evidently moved back to Wapakoneta after the Indians ceased their hostilities following their defeat at the Battle of Tippecanoe for he too received land in 1817. ("Nerupenesheguah or Cornstalk" in Harvey's list, and "Nenepemeshequa or Cornstalk" in Kappler's list.) The fact that his name appeared on the list ahead of that of "Peter Cornstalk" might indicate that he was either older or more important than Peter/Peitehthator. (He may have been in Ohio in 1814 for Kappler shows an 1814 treaty signer whose name was written as "Wynepuechsika, or Corn Stalk." Given the variations in spellings of Indian names on the treaties it is tempting to drop the "Wy" from this name and come up with "Nepuechsika"--which isn't so far in sound from "Nenepemeshequa/Nerupenesheguah.") Confusing? Yes. I don't know which individual was the son of the chief.

And then there was Chief Cornstalk's grand nephew, Mr. Henry. Which of the Peters was his uncle?

With good luck, and help from others who read this book, I hope to solve some of these questions.

## FOOTNOTES

**Chapter One: Stories about the Indians.**

1. Hiram W. Beckwith, History of Montgomery County, Indiana (Chicago: Hill & Iddings, 1881), p. 10.

2. The Ristine family papers are owned by Richard Ristine of Crawfordsville; the Anderson/Harshbarger letters are in the Local History Collection at the Crawfordsville District Public Library.

3. Sandford C. Cox, Recollections of the Early Settlement of the Wabash Valley (Lafayette: Courier Steam Book and Job Printing House, 1860), pp. 11-12. The Potawatomis were widely regarded as a fierce tribe.

4. "A Pioneer of Ripley Township Celebrates His Ninety-first Birthday--Interesting Recollections," Crawfordsville Weekly Journal, September 28, 1900.

5. Jesse J. Goben, The Writings of Jesse J. Goben (Middletown, N.Y.: G. Beebe's Sons, [188-?]), pp. 11-12.

6. William A. Long, "A Weird Picture of Pioneer Life in Montgomery County," Crawfordsville Journal, June 1, 1904, p. 2.

7. John W. Harrison, "Some Early History," Ladoga Leader, November 19, 1909.

8. John W. Harrison, "Tales of Early Days," Ladoga Leader, November 26, 1909.

9. Beckwith, p. 478.

10. Ibid., p. 432; "Little Egypt" is supposed to have been located in the south half of Section 6 in Madison Township. David Layton, "'Little Egypt' Had Tough Sod," Montgomery (June, 1979), p. 7.

11. Beckwith, pp. 567-8.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., pp. 450-1.

14. "Walnut Township Organized in 1831," Montgomery (October, 1983), p. 5.

15. Rebecca L. Royer, "Shawnee Camps Dotted the Garfield Area," Montgomery (November, 1979), pp. 9-10.

16. Jim Leas, "Cornstalk Village Is Historical Site," Montgomery (May, 1982), p. 14.

17. "Balhinch Bugle Blasts," Crawfordsville Weekly Review, August 30, 1890, p. 8, c. 5.

18. A Century of Progress: New Market, Indiana, 1872-1972 (Crawfordsville: Suburban Press, 1972), p. 17; reprinted in Montgomery (August, 1979), p. 25.

19. "Settlers Found Indians in Area," Montgomery (October, 1979), p. 10.

20. William L. Anderson, Early History of Ladoga (published at the request of the Historical Society of Ladoga, 1910?), p. 5.

21. Anna Kruger, "Story of Waynetown, Its Heirlooms," paper given before the Pi Mu Research Club, February 19, 1947, p. 10.

22. Consult the card catalogue at the Crawfordsville District Public Library for references to William Bratton and his role in the Lewis and Clark expedition.

23. Livy Miller Ashby, "Cornstalk," unpublished manuscript (Roachdale, In., September 19, 1936, pp. 3-7. The manuscript is housed in the manuscript collection at the Indiana State Library. A photocopy is on file in the Crawfordsville District Public Library.

24. Blanche Hamm, "Bazzle Tracy Was 'Shrewd' in Business," Montgomery (December, 1983), p. 9.

25. Two Crows (Arthur Yates), in program presented on Indian Appreciation Day, May 12, 1984, Crawfordsville District Public Library.

26. Remley Herr, "Memory of Indians, Their Ways Stayed with Pioneers," Journal-Review, March 20, 1974, pp. 1, 13.

27. Ibid.

28. Eleanor and Remley Herr, "Indians Take Woman, Son, Hostage," Montgomery (May, 1977), p. 7.

29. Remley Herr, "Memory of Indians." p. 13.

30. Pearl LaFollette, "Becks Settled Near an Indian Village," Crawfordsville Journal, May 24, 1924; reprinted in Montgomery (October, 1983), pp. 9-10.

31. History of the Meharry Family in America (Lafayette: Lafayette Printing Co., 1925), p. 43.

32. Leas, "Cornstalk, pp. 14-15.

33. In a telephone conversation December 29, 1984, Mrs. Little said that although it is stated in the taped interview that Thomas Hall was her grandfather this was an error. He was her great-grandfather. Her father was George F., son of James H., son of Thomas. The succession of the ownership of the property was this: Joseph Hahan purchased it on July 14, 1822; on July 4, 1835 he sold it to Thomas Hall ; James H. inherited it in 1840. He gave it to George F. Hall around 1884. Thomas lived on the property until his death in 1840. His son, James, was a grown man at the time and also lived on the property. Therefore it is possible that the occurrences recounted by Mrs. Little could have happened to either man.

34. Hazel D. Little, "History, by Memory, of the Asher-Proffitt Property, Located on Highway 32 at Country Club

Road, Montgomery County, Indiana," transcript of taped interview, December 15, 1972, pp. 2-3. On file at the Crawfordsville District Public Library.

35. Roy Scrugg, interview, December 29, 1984.

36. Albert T. Thompson, "Indians," Memoirs: The Centennial Book (Waynetown: Flower Lovers Club, 1930), pp. 72-3.

37. Jack Waddell, interview, April 5, 1984.

38. Nellie Smith, typescript of family reminiscences. Crawfordsville? n.d. On file at Crawfordsville District Public Library.

39. Ashby, "Cornstalk," p. 11.

40. June Brookshire, "Clark, Scott Townships Closely Linked," Crawfordsville Journal, June 7, 1924; reprinted in Montgomery (March, 1983), p. 12.

**Chapter Two: The Prehistoric Period**

1. John Collett, "Geological Survey of Montgomery County," in, E. T. Cox, Seventh Annual Report of the Geological Survey of Indiana (Indianapolis: Department of Geology, 1876), pp. 361-421; and William J. Wayne, "Ice and Land," in Natural Features of Indiana (Indianapolis: Indiana Academy of Science, 1966), pp. 34-5.

2. James H. Kellar, letter to Brelsford, April 4, 1984.

3. Wayne, p. 37.

4. Atlas of Montgomery County, Indiana (Chicago: J. H. Beers & Co., 1878), p. 6.

5. Crawfordsville Weekly Journal, November 8, 1895, p. 8.

6. Kellar, manuscript comments, January 16, 1985.

7. Gary D. Ellis, "Archaeology Suggests Man Was in Indiana Even in 14,000 B.C.," Outdoor Indiana (September, 1978), pp. 5-7.

8. Frederick Hodge, ed., Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), v.2, p. 746.

9. Kellar, manuscript comments.

10. Kellar, An Introduction to the Prehistory of Indiana, 2nd ed. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1982), p. 24; readers interested in a more popularized account of prehistoric cultures are referred to Jan Finney's "Prehistoric Man in Indiana," Outdoor Indiana, July/August, 1975, pp. 11-18.

11. Anderson, Early History, p. 3.

12. Ronald Richards, letter to Brelsford, June 11, 1984.

13. Kellar, letter to Brelsford, April 4, 1984.

14. Gerald Walters, Crawfordsville, December, 1983.

15. Random House Dictionary of the English Language,

College ed. (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 872.

16. "Mound Builders," Academic American Encyclopedia (Danbury, Conn.: Grolier, 1982), Vol. 13, p. 617.

17. Theodore Gronert, Sugar Creek Saga (Crawfordsville: Wabash College, 1958), p. 60.

18. Jim Leas, "Indian Mounds Located in Shannondale Area," Montgomery (September, 1976), pp. 10-12.

19. Kellar, manuscript comments.

20. Beckwith, p. 526.

21. Ibid., p. 435.

22. "Found an 'Injun' Cemetery," Crawfordsville Star, October 21, 1892, p. 1, c. 1; also printed as "The Gravel Pit Grave Yard," Crawfordsville Weekly Review, October 29, 1892, p. 1, c. 4.

23. Kellar, letter to Brelsford, April 18, 1984.

24. Crawfordsville Weekly Review, October 29, 1892, p. 6, c. 2.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid., September 8, 1894, p. 1, c. 3.

27. Ibid., May 3, 1890, p. 4, under "New Richmond."

28. "The Mound Builders," Crawfordsville Journal, October 19, 1903, p. 1; also in New Richmond Record, October 22, 1903, p. 1.

29. Robert E. Pace, interview with Brelsford, January 30, 1985.

30. New Richmond Record, April 14, 1904, p. 1, c. 5-6.

31. Lois Irwin, "Ancient Skeletons Found in County May Be of Indians," Journal-Review, August 21, 1964, p. 1. Dr. Kellar speculated that the bones might have been given into the possession of Prof. George Neumann, now deceased. He offered to try to track them down if we could supply him with more information, which we have not been able to do.

32. Blanche Hamm, interview, August, 1984.

33. Phyllis Boone, New Richmond, Spring, 1984.

34. Kellar, letter, April 18, 1984.

35. Waddell, interview, April 5, 1984.

36. Collett, p. 418.

37. Archer Butler Hulbert, Historic Highways of America, Vol. 1, Paths of the Mound-Building Indians and Great Game Animals (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1902), pp. 57-63.

38. Tim Pickett, "Hilly History: Mounds Hold Keys to Area Past," Journal-Review, October 17, 1984, p. 9, c. 3-4. The reader who consults the newspaper article will notice a difference in the conclusions printed therein from those in this book. Both Dr. Pace and Dr. Norton later said that their statements had been misinterpreted in the newspaper article.

39. Pace, interview, January 39, 1985.

40. Pickett, "Hilly History."
41. Darrell Norton, telephone interview with Brelsford, November 28, 1984.
42. Kellar, letter, April 4, 1984.
43. Norton, telephone interview.
44. Pace, interview.
45. Kellar, "Cultural History of the Indians," in Natural Features of Indiana (Indianapolis: Indiana Academy of Science, 1966), pp. 495-6. Paper presented at a symposium at Wabash College, April 22-23, 1966.
46. B. K. Swartz, Jr., Indiana's Prehistoric Past, rev. ed. (Muncie: Ball State University, 1981), pp. 11-14.
47. Collett, p. 419.
48. Anderson, Early History, p. 3.
49. Ibid., p. 5.
50. Waddell, interview, April 5, 1984.
51. Robert E. Pace, "Archaeological Testing of the Morton Site, Parke County, Indiana." Mimeographed. (Terre Haute: 1978), p. i.
52. Ibid., p. 34.
53. Kellar, An Introduction, p. 35.
54. Jan Finney, "Prehistoric Man in Indiana," Outdoor Indiana (July/August, 1975), pp. 12-18.
55. Kellar, in Natural Features of Indiana, p. 496.
56. Waddell, interview, April 5, 1984.
57. Collett, p. 419.

**Chapter Three: The Historic Period**

1. Vern Dewey, "The Shades," Hoosier Magazine (1930?), p. 9. Item is on file at the Crawfordsville District Public Library.
2. Ibid.
3. Ralph W. Stark, "Ka-wi-a-ki-un-gi and Thorntown," Thorntown Sentinel Dispatch, September 21, 1978.
4. John Shrum, "Early Surveyors Referred to River as 'Sugar Creek,'" Crawfordsville Journal, January 14, 1924, p. 4.
5. Eaton G. Osman, The Last of a Great Indian Tribe (Chicago: Flanagan, 1924).
6. Jim Leas, "Shades of Death Is Special," Montgomery (February, 1976), pp. 7-8; (March, 1976), pp. 27-28.
7. Lucille Pitt, "Pristine Beauty of the Shades," Outdoor Indiana (September, 1969), p. 16.
8. Thomas Dean, Journal of Thomas Dean, Voyage to Indiana in 1817, ed. by John Candee Dean, Indianapolis Historical Society Publications, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Indianapolis: C. E. Pauley, 1918), pp. 312-13.

9. Ibid., pp. 328-9.
10. Isaac McCoy, History of Baptist Indian Missions (New York and London: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1970), pp. 56-8. Originally published in 1840.
11. Joyce G. Williams, "American Indian Treaties in the Old Northwest," Indiana Alumni Magazine (May/June, 1983), pp. 5-10.
12. Charles C. Royce, comp., Indian Land Cessions in the United States, extracted from the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1971), pp. 692-5.
13. Bert Anson, The Miami Indians (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), p. 181.
14. Israel T. Canby, letter to John H. Eaton, February 13, 1830, in Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, National Archives Microfilm Publication M234, roll 416, frame 0060.
15. B. F. Stickney, letter to Thomas L. McKinney, Fort Wayne, August 27, 1817, in Wallace A. Brice, History of Fort Wayne (Fort Wayne: D. W. Jones, 1868), p. 290.
16. Anderson, Early History, p. 4.
17. Shirley S. McCord, comp., Travel Accounts of Indiana, 1679-1961 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1970) contains part of an unpublished diary by Enoch Honeywell in which a reference is made to 500 Indians dancing at the annuity distribution at Fort Harrison in 1816.
18. Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Treaties, 1778-1883, reprinted (New York: Interland Pub., 1972).
19. Brice, p. 291.
20. Paul Woehrmann, At the Headwaters of the Maumee (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1971), pp. 257-73.
21. John D. Barnhart and Dorothy L. Riker, Indiana to 1816, the Colonial Period History of Indiana, Vol. 1 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society, 1971), p. 66.
22. Ibid., pp. 65-80.
23. Stephen Neal, "History of Boone County," Combination Atlas Map of Boone County, Indiana (Chicago: Kingman Brothers, 1878), p. 13.
24. Jacob Piatt Dunn, Indiana and Indianans (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1919), Vol. 1, pp. 45-6.
25. Hulbert, Historic Highways of America, Vol. 2, Indian Thoroughfares (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1902), pp. 21-2.
26. This map was a gift from the Boone County Surveyor's Office and is now on file at the Crawfordsville District Public Library.

27. From margin notes on Stark's map.

28. United States Public Lands Survey Plats for Indiana, Boone County. The notation is at T20N R2W North 63.4 chains between Sec. 31 & 32.

29. Atlas, 1878, p. 8.

30. Survey Plats for Boone County in notes for T18N R2W.

31. Specific notations in Boone County:

T19N R2W:
West 50 chains between Sec. 30 & 31;
West 2 chains on Random between Sec. 19 & 30;
North 52 chains between Sec. 16 & 17.

Specific notations in Montgomery County:

T19N R3W:
North 6 chains on the East Boundary of Sec. 36.

T18 R3W:
East 5.55 chains on Random between Sec. 1 & 12;
North 55.05 chains between Sec. 11 & 12;
East 39.5 chains on Random between Sec. 11 & 14;
North 17 chains between Sec. 14 & 15;
East 68.5 chains on Random between Sec. 15 & 22;
East 15.92 chains on Random between Sec. 22 & 27;
North 46 chains between Sec. 27 & 28;
East 20 chains on Random between Sec. 28 & 33;
North 61.15 chains between Sec. 32 & 33.

T17N R4W:
North 5 chains on the East Boundary of Sec. 1;
East 75 chains on Random between Sec. 1 & 12;
North 51 chains between Sec. 13 & 14;
East 44 chains on Random between Sec. 14 & 23;
Corner of Sec. 22, 23, 26, & 27;
East on Random between Sec. 27 & 34.

Russell Nelson, present Surveyor of Montgomery County, has plotted the above locations on an aerial map of the county. This map is on file at the Crawfordsville District Public Library.

32. T17N R4W, East 36 chains on Random between Sec. 27 & 34, "an Indian trace"; East 56 chains, "a stream 50 lks wide"; East 58 chains, "an Indian village on our right."

33. Standard Atlas of Montgomery County, Indiana (Chicago: Geo. A. Ogle & Co., 1917), pp. 22, 30.

34. Oklahoma was a settlement which was located in what is now the northeast section of Ladoga. Information obtained from Carolyn Cross, Librarian, Ladoga Public Library, Ladoga, Indiana, September, 1984.

35. Anderson, Early History, p. 4.

36. Ruth G. Clodfelder McCormick and Essie Mae Potts, Yountsville History (Crawfordsville: The Authors, 1968), pp.

19-20; also Little.

37. Caroline Virginia Krout, On the We-a Trail, by Caroline Brown, pseud. (New York: Grossett & Dunlap, 1903).

38. Atlas, 1878, p. 8.

39. Remley Herr, "Dramatic Activity Evident," Montgomery (November, 1976), pp. 18-20; also Remley Herr, "Indian Trails for Indiana," paper presented to the Ouiatenon Club, Crawfordsville, n.d. On file at the Crawfordsville District Public Library.

40. The caption on the map which Remley Herr showed me was "Indian Thoroughfares of Eastern Ohio and Western Pennsylvania. Based on Hutchins." Remley said the map had been give to him. It had been photocopied out of a book, probably a history of Ohio.

41. Hulbert, Historic Highways of America, Vol. 1, p. 26.

42. George T. Hunt, The Wars of the Iroquois, A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1960), pp. 149-50.

43. Herr also speculated that both trails through our area were used for a surprise attack by the Americans on the British during the American Revolution. Verification of the use of this route might possibly be found in The Haldimand Papers, B27, housed in the Canadian National Archives, Ottawa. These papers reportedly contain "a document written in 1774 [which describes] the various routes from Detroit to the Illinois country . . . and [gives] distances between various geographical spots and settlements encountered on the way. . . ." Cited in Erminie Wheeler Voegelin et al. Miami, Wea and Eel River Indians of Southern Indiana, (New York: Garland Pub., 1974), p. 152n. I was unable to consult these papers.

44. Lorna Lutes Sylvester, "Conner Prairie Pioneer Settlement and Museum," Indiana Magazine of History, vol. LXV, no. 1 (Indianapolis: Indiana University in cooperation with the Indiana Historical Society, March 1969), pp.1-2.

45. Erminie Wheeler Voegelin, Mortuary Customs of the Shawnee and Other Eastern Tribes, Prehistory Research Series, Vol. II, No. 4 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1944), p. 34.

46. Beckwith, p. 567.

47. History of Montgomery County, Indiana (Indianapolis: A. W. Bowen & Co., 1913), Vol. 1, p. 426.

48. "Indians Had Thriving Village in County," Montgomery (October, 1981), pp. 9, 12.

49. Anderson, Early History, p. 5.

50. Little, p. 3. No records were located at Wabash regarding this incident.

51. There were at least two groups of people who left written reports which might give us contemporary documentation on the Indians in this area. The first group was the United States Rangers who patrolled this area during and after the War of 1812. Two of Crawfordsville's early settlers, Henry Ristine and Williamson Dunn, had been Rangers. I have not been able to document that they patrolled in this area at that time, as is stated in Gronert's Sugar Creek Saga (p. 5). Dunn's extensive biographical sketch in a Crawfordsville paper (Saturday Evening Journal, May 8, 1880, p. 3) mentions that for a while he was assigned to Fort Harrison and at another time he camped "On the circle" in what is now Indiananpolis. The article does not mention his having been in the Crawfordsville area at that time. The Indiana State Library has some of the Ranger reports. The librarian who looked at them for me said that they mainly said "Send help" and did not mention specific places or tribes. The other group that filed official reports was the surveying party mentioned in Pitt's article (Outdoor Indiana, September, 1969). I was unable to locate the original survey report to verify or gather more information.

52. Harlow Lindley, ed., Indiana as Seen by Early Travellers . . . Prior to 1830 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1916), p. 163.

53. Leas, "Cornstalk," p. 14.

54. Beckwith, p. 567.

55. The Montgomery County Centennial: The Pageant, presented at Crawfordsville, June 13-14, 1916.

56. E. Y. Guernsey, "Indiana: The Influence of the Indian upon Its History--With Indian and French Names for Natural and Cultural Locations," a map (Indianapolis: Department of Natural Resources, 1933, rev. 1968).

57. Merrill McAninch, interview, October, 1983.

58. Atlas, 1878, p. 8.

59. Beckwith, p. 376-7.

60. "Walnut Township Organized in 1831," Montgomery (October, 1983), p. 5.

61. Anderson, Early History, p. 3.

62. LaFollette, Montgomery, p. 9.

63. United States Public Lands Survey Plats for Indiana, 1820, Vol. 4, plat 68. In the Archives Division, Commission on Public Records, Indiana State Library Building, Indianapolis.

64. Anderson, Early History, p. 3.

65. Atlas, 1878, p. 8.

66. Lewis Goshorn, interview, February, 1984.

67. Brice, p. 291.

68. Regarding the series of original landowners' maps which ran in Montgomery during 1979, a note on page 13 of the February, 1979, issue says "Creeks may be mislocated."

69. James Rick Jones, "Early Historic Archaeology in the Lafayette Area," paper presented to the Indiana Historical Society's Fall Conference, Fort Wayne, September 8, 1984.

70. George Irving Quimby, Indian Culture and European Trade Goods (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), pp. 81-90.

71. James Rick Jones, "Early Historic Archaeology."

72. Quimby, Indian Culture, pp. 91-101.

73. Herr, "Dramatic Activity," pp. 18-20.

74. Theodore G. Gronert, "Montgomery County Had Minor Indian Troubles in Early Days," Journal-Review, date unknown (November 20, 1954, handwritten on the newspaper clipping is incorrect). In a scrapbook of clippings of T. G. Gronert's "Early Days in Montgomery County," 1954-57, p. 35, in the Wabash College Archives.

75. Anderson, Early History, pp. 3-4.

76. Montgomery County, Indiana, Original Entry Book, 1821-1836, p. 53.

77. James H. Harrison, "Early Days in Boone," The Lebanon Pioneer, September 15, 1887, p. 1, c. 3.

78. Anderson, "Peter Cornstalk and His Indians," Ladoga Leader, September 28, 1922, p. 8, c. 4-6.

79. Beckwith, pp. 380-1; also, Crystal Pauline Walters, History of Clark Township (Fort Wayne: Fort Wayne Public Library, 1971), p. 144. It should be noted that in Allen's obituary (Crawfordsville Journal, May 13, 1908, p.1) it says Allen came to Montgomery County from Ohio in 1833.

80. Beckwith, p. 567.

81. Ibid., p. 432.

82. McCormick and Potts, p. 13.

83. Beckwith, p. 444.

84. LaFollette, "Becks Settled," p. 9.

85. Karen Blinn's history was a Master's thesis submitted to Ball State University, ca. 1982.

86. Blinn, letter to Brelsford, June 18, 1984.

87. Stewart Rafert, letter to Brelsford, June 28, 1984.

88. The Record, October 18, 1831, p. 1, c. 1-3.

89. Anderson, Early History, p. 5.

90. Beckwith, p. 25.

91. The quotation is from a newspaper clipping, assumedly from a Crawfordsville newspaper, name of paper and date unknown; story also appears in Robert S. Harvey, "The Elston: The History of the Elston Bank and Trust Company, 1853-1981," mimeographed (Crawfordsville?, 1981), p. 7.

92. Crawfordsville Weekly Journal, July 7, 1870, p. 2.
93. Paula A. Franklin, Indians of North America: The Eight Culture Areas and How Their Inhabitants Lived Before the Coming of the Whites (New York: David McKay, 1979), p. 158.
94. Fern Brill, as told to her by Evelyn Wingert, May, 1984.

**Chapter 4: Plants and Their Indian Uses**

1. Robert O. Petty, Crawfordsville, May, 1984. Dr. Petty suggests the following works as useful references: Harold E. Driver, Indians of North America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969); Barrie Kavasch, Native Harvests (New York: Random House, 1979); E. W. Lamb and L. W. Shultz, Indian Lore (Laker Winona, IN: Light and Life Press, 1964); Alma Lesch, Vegetable Dyeing (New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1970); David G. Spoerke, Herbal Medications (Santa Barbara, CA: Woodbridge Press, 1980); and M. Svoboda and F. Foy, Plants that the American Indians Used (Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum, 1961).

**Chapter 5: The Woodland Indians**

1. Franklin, p. 6.
2. Swartz, p. 28.
3. Franklin, p. 50.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 4.
6. New Columbia Encyclopedia, ed. by William S. Harris and Judith S. Levey (New York, London: Columbia University Press, 1975), p. 85.
7. Dunn, Indiana, Vol I. p. 43.
8. Franklin, p. 4.
9. Ibid.
10. Henry Harvey, History of the Shawnee Indians, from the Year 1681 to 1854 Inclusive (Cincinnati: Ephraim Morgan & Sons, 1855; reprint ed., New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1971), pp. 159-60.
11. Information on the physical characteristics was taken from Kirk Wolfe, A Manual of Woodland Indian War Dress, Vol. 1 (Springfield, Ohio: Commemoration '80, 1979?), pp. 3-4.
12. W. Ben Hunt, The Complete How-to Book of Indiancraft (New York: Collier Books, 1979), pp. 166-7.
13. Cox, p. 14.
14. Tunis, pp. 46-8.
15. Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (Washington: Government Printing Office,

1906), Vol. 2, pp. 341-2.

16. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 137-9.

17. W. Ben Hunt, The Complete Book of Indian Crafts and Lore (New York: Golden Press, 1954), p. 60.

18. Shirley Glubok, The Art of the Woodland Indians (New York: Macmillan, 1976), pp. 16-17.

19. Ibid., pp. 22-3; Hunt, The Complete Book of Indian Crafts, p. 60.

20. John Remley found the beaded purse in the street when he was sixteen years old and living in Lebanon, Ohio. There was a gold coin in it. He used the coin to buy himself an apprenticeship to a tanner in Lebanon. Four years later, in 1824, he walked to Montgomery County, entered land, and returned to Ohio to marry Sarah. Information from Martha Cantrell, January, 1985.

21. Quimby, Indian Culture, pp. 9-11.

22. George Winter, The Journals and Indian Paintings of George Winter, 1837-1839 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1948), pp. 96-7.

23. Joyce Jones, Wingate, Indiana, April, 1984.

24. Harvey, p. 145.

25. Anderson, "Peter Cornstalk," September 28, 1922, p. 8.

26. Harvey, pp. 145-51.

27. R. E. Banta, comp., Indiana Authors and Their Books (Crawfordsville: Wabash College, 1949), pp. 317-19.

28. Maurice Thompson, Stories of Indiana (New York: American Book Co., 1898), p. 22-9.

**Chapter 6: Indians of Indiana**

1. For more detailed information on the Indians during the time they were in Indiana the reader is referred to Erminie Wheeler Voegelin et al., pp. 176-9, and other volumes in the Garland Publishing Company's series on American Indian ethnohistory. For more recent scholarship on the overall history of the individual tribes the reader is referred to Volume 15 of the Smithsonian's Indians of North America.

2. Voegelin, "Indians of Indiana," The Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science, Vol. 50 (Indianapolis: The Academy, 1941), pp. 27-32.

3. The Eel River Indians still have descendants living in Indiana in 1984. Larry Godfroy, aged 94, who is the hereditary chief of the Indiana Miamis, is Eel River on his mother's side. Rafert, letter, June 28, 1984.

4. Voegelin, et al., pp. 176-9.

5. Voegelin, "Indians of Indiana," pp. 27-32.

6. Two articles on the forcible removal of the Potąwatomi

have been printed in Outdoor Indiana: David Lester's "The Trail of Death" (December/January, 1983-84, pp. 13-16), and Arville L. Funk's "The Trail of Death" (November, 1962, pp. 27-9).

7. Voegelin, "Indians of Indiana," pp. 27-32.

**Chapter 7: Will the Real Peter Cornstalk Please Stand Up?**

1. Specific Montgomery County references which are grouped under the Miami claim come from the following sources: the Wea attribution is found in LaFollette, "Becks Settled," pp. 9-10; the Snakefish/Eel River Miami attribution is found on the historical marker placed in Parkersburg, Indiana, by the Montgomery County Historical Society in May, 1982, and appeared in Remley Herr, "Indians in County Were of Mixed Nationality," Montgomery (January, 1979), p. 5; the Miami attribution appears in Beckwith, pp. 450-1; Ashby, pp. 1-2; Leas, "Cornstalk," p. 14.

2. Anderson, "Peter Cornstalk and His Indians"; Anderson, Early History, p. 3; The Montgomery County Centennial: The Pageant, June 14-15, 1916 (Crawfordsville, 1916), p. 5.

3. Brookshire, p. 12.

4. Ibid.

5. Sarah's obituary appeared in the Crawfordsville Journal, May 18, 1908; general biographical sketches of the Harrison and Brookshire families appear in Pauline Walters, p. 143, and Beckwith, p. 380; the date that Robert Harrison entered land comes from the Montgomery County Original Entry Book, p. 50; 1850 Census, Montgomery County, Scott Township, Dwelling 672 establishes that Sarah was the mother of John A. (Allen) Brookshire; obituary for (James) William Brookshire, Journal Riview, March 4, 1960, establishes that he was the son of Allen, and the father of Mrs. M. G. Cragun of Speedway, Indiana. Mrs. June Cragun is listed in the 1984 Speedway city directory.

6. Guy A. Lee, ed., "Family Reunion: Documents of the Harshbarger and Anderson Families and Their Lives in Ladoga," typescript (Bethesda, Maryland, 1981), p. 11. On file at the Crawfordsville District Public Library.

7. Anderson, "Peter Cornstalk," September 21, 1922, p. 8.

8. I have searched through the Indianapolis City Directories for the years 1902-4 and the Soundex for the 1900 census of Indiana but have not located any name which I think might have been Mr. Henry. Queries about Mr. Henry are still pending to researchers in Kansas and Ohio.

9. Anderson, "Peter Cornstalk," September 21, 1922.

10. Anderson, Early Days, p. 1.

11. Montgomery County Centennial, p. 15.
12. Krout, pp. 22-4.
13. William Henry Foote, Sketches of Virginia (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1855), p. 167.
14. Stark, "Ka-wi-a-ki-un-gi"; also Writers Project, Indiana, a guide to the Hoosier state (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941).
15. Harvey, pp. 164-7, 168. Note, Harvey did not arrive at Wapakoneta until 1830.
16. Ibid., pp. 244-5.
17. Ibid., p. 247.
18. Ibid., p. 307.
19. Anderson, "Peter Cornstalk," September 28, 1922, p. 8.
20. Actually, on p. 151 of his book, Harvey implies that the Indians hunted in northern Ohio.
21. Anderson, "Peter Cornstalk," September 28, 1922, p. 8.
22. Ibid.
23. H. G. Howland, Atlas of Auglaize County, Ohio (Philadelphia: Robt. Sutton, 1880), p. 96.
24. Kappler, pp. 153-4.
25. Ibid, p. 264.
26. R. David Edmunds, The Shawnee Prophet (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), pp. 174-83, 184, 186.
27. Isaac McCoy, "Isaac McCoy's Second Exploring Trip in 1828," ed. John Francis McDermott, The Kansas Historical Quarterly, vol. V (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1930), p. 442.
28. Isaac McCoy, "Journal of Isaac McCoy for the Exploring Expedition of 1830," ed. Lela Barnes, The Kansas Historical Quarterly, vol. XIII (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1945), pp. 376-7.
29. Edmunds, p. 174.
30. Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, microfilm M234, roll 748, frames 0216, 0230, 0284.
31. Kappler, p. 334.
32. Howland, p. 96.
33. Ibid.
34. Herr, "Indians in County," p. 5; Herr told me in a telephone conversation in the spring of 1984 that he received his information from his grandmother. He did not state which grandmother.
35. Remley Herr, "Montgomery County Area Was a Melting Pot of Indians," Journal-Review, June 5, 1974, p. 16.
36. The marker reads: "Chief Peter Cornstalk's village of Snakefish (Eel River) tribe of Miami Indians was located three miles from here along Cornstalk Creek. Wigwams and Indian burial ground were near the little Harshbarger family

cemetery. The Indians lived at peace with settlers moving here in the 1800's. Erected by the Montgomery County Historical Society, 1982." There may be more than one explanation for the use of both "Eel River" and "Snakefish" for these Indians. One is found in Voegelin et al, p. 153. There they quote Henry Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor of Canada in 1778, as saying "[the] village of the Miamis" was known as "Kinebec a maingong . . . which means Shake River, the Indians calling an Eel 'Kinebec' as they do a snake likewise."

36. Dunn, True Indian Stories, with Glossary of Indiana Indian Names (Indianapolis: Sentinel Printing Co., 1909), pp. 259-60.

38. Dunn, Indiana and Indianans, Vol. I, pp. 45-6. The notes for this study are housed in the manuscript collection at the Indiana State Library.

39. Kappler, p. 287. One can get carried away with trying to second-guess the Indian names on treaties. For example, there is an entry for another signer to this treaty, "Pierrish Constant, his mark x." Could this be another form of "Peter Cornstalk" which the scribe misunderstood and spelled the way he thought it sounded?

40. John Tipton, The John Tipton Papers, comp. by Glenn A. Blackburn, Indiana Historical Collections, Vol. 24-26 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1942), Vol. 25, pp. 384-5.

41. Combined Atlas Map of Howard County, Indiana (Chicago: Kingman Brothers., 1878), pp. 16-17.

42. Charles Blanchard, ed., Counties of Howard and Tipton, Indiana (Chicago: F. A. Battey, 1883), p. 157.

43. Document is housed in the Fort Wayne Historical Museum.

44. Elizabeth Glenn, letter to Brelsford, September 20, 1984.

45. Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-81, roll 418, frame 0123. An excellent account of this Miami removal is included in Robert A. Tennert, Jr, Indian Traders on the Middle Border: The House of Ewing, 1827-54 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981).

46. Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Roll 418, frame 0186.

47. Ibid., frame 0206.

48. Ibid., frame 0301.

49. Ashby, "Cornstalk." This manuscript is housed in the manuscript collection at the Indiana State Library. A copy is owned by the Crawfordsville District Public Library.

50. Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Microfilm 234, roll 748,

51. Glenn, letter.

52. Dorothy Clark, Historically Speaking (Evansville: Whippoorwill Publications, 1981), p. 22.
53. S. B. Gookins, History of Vigo County, Indiana (Chicago: Hill & Iddings, 1880), p. 30.
54. James H. Harrison, "Early Days in Boone," p. 1.
55. Owen Freeland, History of Ervin Township, Howard County (Kokomo?: The Author, 1972?), pp. 37-8. Another account appears in Edna Jones Payne, Memories of New London Community, Howard County (Russiaville: George L. Woody, 1936), pp. 5-6.
56. Blanchard, p. 294.
57. Ibid., p. 157.
58. "Mrs. Garritson Says Cornstalk Not a Myth," Kokomo Tribune, April 14, 1955.
59. Blanchard, p. 401.
60. Carl Leiter, "From Out of the Past," Kokomo Morning Times, March 20, 1965.

Appendix

1. Frederick J. Dockstader, Great North American Indians: Profiles in Life and Leadership (New York: Van Nostrand, 1977), p. 60.
2. Encyclopedia of Indians of the Americas (St. Clair Shores, Michigan, 1974), vol. 5, p. 51. An Indian by the name of "Keigleighque," who was probably Cornstalk, appears in Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition Against the Ohio Indians, in 1764. (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1868). Note: Dockstader gave Cornstalk's name as "Wynepuechsika." This is wrong; a consequence of confusing the many Cornstalks. "Wynepuechsika or Cornstalk" signed a treaty at Greenville, Ohio, on July 22, 1814, long after Chief Cornstalk's death. Kappler, v.2, p. 106. See also fn # -- below.)
3. William Albert Galloway, Old Chillicothe: Shawnee and Pioneer History (Xenia, Ohio: Buckeye Press, 1934), p. 12.
4. William Henry Foote, Sketches of Virginia . . . (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1855), p. 159.
5. Encyclopedia of Indians of the Americas, p. 51.
6. See Foote, pp. 160-7; also Samuel G. Drake, The Book of the Indians . . . [to] 1841 (Boston: Antiquarian, 1841), pp. 42-8; also, Documented History of Dunmore's War
7. Foote, pp. 165-6.
8. Ibid., p. 160
9. Documents concerning the 1775 treaty at Fort Pitt show that while representatives of the Six Nations were present, no representatives of the Shawnees appeared--including Cornstalk. Finally, tiring of waiting for them, the attending

parties signed the agreement in July. Dunmore requested "Capt. White Eyes [Delaware] will please to acquaint the Corn Stalk with these my Sentiments, . . . " Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789, Vol. V: Virginia Treaties, 1723-1775. (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1983), p. 397.

10. Foote, pp. 167-8.

11. Louise Phelps Kellogg, "Non-hel-ema, Shawnee Princess," in William Albert Galloway, Old Chillicothe, pp. 283-295. Map showing location of the village is in Henry Howe, Historical Collections of Ohio in Two Volumes (Cincinnati, C. J. Krehbiel & Co., 1904), vol. II, page unnumbered.

12. Drake, p. 50

13. Letter to B. Brelsford from Alice C. Saver of Point Pleasant, West Virginia, February, 1985.

14. Harvey, p. 244.

15. Louis Houck, A History of Missouri . . . (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons, 1908; reprint ed. New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1971), vol. 1, p. 212.

16. Atlas and History of Auglaize County, Ohio, p. 96

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